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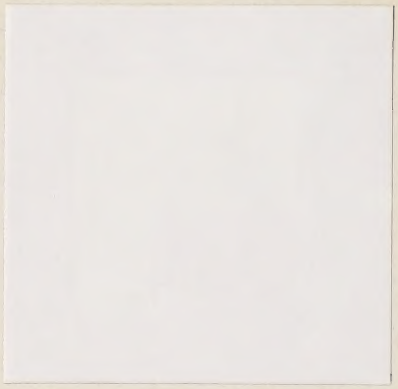
TURNER'S SOUTHERN COAST

INTRODUCTION AND CATALOGUE BY

A. J. FINBERG



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TURNER'S 'SOUTHERN COAST'

An Introduction to Turner's SOUTHERN COAST

WITH A CATALOGUE OF THE ENGRAVINGS
in which all the known working-proofs are arranged
and described for the first time, and a full tran-
script is made of Turner's marginal
notes and instructions to
the engravers

by A. J. FINBERG

LONDON
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PREFACE

AS lovers are impelled to write sonnets and odes to the charms of their mistresses, so the lover of engravings is apt to throw off catalogues of the plates which excite his admiration: they are among those 'slight follies' we are drawn to by our fantasy. That there is no public demand, as a publisher would say, for a new catalogue of Turner's engravings of the 'Southern Coast', I cheerfully admit. Turner's line-engravings are not for the fashion of these times. But fashions change, and the time may come when this catalogue which I have compiled for my own pleasure may please and be of service to others. And till that time comes I am content to plead with Touchstone: 'We that are true lovers run into strange capers; but as all is mortal in nature, so is all nature in love mortal in folly.'

I will now explain how and why a new catalogue of these engravings has come into existence. It began with the acquisition of the fine collection of working proofs which had been formed by the late Mr Arthur Wallis, the son of Richard Wallis, one of Turner's engravers. When I tried to arrange and describe this collection I found that Mr Rawlinson's account of the working proofs of this series in his standard catalogue ('The Engraved Work of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.' by W. G. Rawlinson. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. 1908) was so perfunctory that it afforded little or no assistance. I was therefore compelled to collate Mr Wallis's proofs with all the others to which I could get access. The most important series of these, known as the Tweedmouth Collection, is now in the possession of Mr Charles Mallord William Turner, who with the greatest kindness placed them at my disposal. Other collectors, Mr S. L. Courtauld, Dr G. Bellingham Smith, Mr A. A. Allen, and Mr H. A. Mummery, were equally generous. The Bullard proofs in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, I was forced to study vicariously; but this was not a disadvantage, as the learned Curator of the Print Department, Mr H. P. Rossiter, gave me freely of his time and expert knowledge. I was thus placed in a favourable position to make a satisfactory arrangement of all the working proofs. In the course of this work I was compelled to write a fairly detailed description of the various stages through which each plate passed, and I found that Turner's notes and instructions to the engravers threw so much light on his aims, methods and character, that I made a complete transcription of all of them. The most instructive and the most interesting part of my catalogue was then done, and I should have liked to stop there, but I could not ignore the published states. My investigations proved conclusively, what I had long suspected, that Mr Rawlinson's classification of the published states was wrong in principle and inaccurate in detail.

It is hard to criticize Mr Rawlinson, for like all lovers of Turner's engravings I feel a deep debt of gratitude towards him for his pioneer labours, yet some ac-

count of the differences in our treatment of the published states must be given. The 'Southern Coast' was published in parts at three different prices. Mr Rawlinson treats these three different issues as though they constituted three different states of the engravings. The Proofs on India are classed as the 'First Published State', the large-paper Proofs on Whatman, as the 'Second State', the smaller-paper Prints, as the 'Third State.' This is based on the assumption that the published impressions on India paper were printed before any of those on Whatman paper—an assumption which is justified to some extent by the publishers' description of them as 'First Impressions'—, and that all the large-paper plain impressions were printed before those with smaller margins. But these assumptions now turn out to be erroneous. I need only give a few instances. It happened that the sky in the beautiful plate of 'Poole' (89) began to wear after a certain number of impressions had been pulled. The whole of the sky and some of the middle-distance were immediately taken out and re-engraved. Mr Rawlinson makes the re-engraved plate the characteristic of his Third State, as he supposed that the sky had worn away in printing the two previous States. Yet impressions of the re-engraved plate are found on India and among the large-paper Whatman proofs (Rawlinson's First and Second States), and all the prints on the smaller paper which I have seen have the sky in its original condition. In this case, therefore, the prints on smaller paper (Rawlinson's Third States) must have been printed before his First and Second States. Alterations or additions were also made in the 'Weymouth' (91), 'Corfe Castle' (93), and other plates, after a limited number of impressions had been taken; in all cases where this occurred the earlier state is invariably found among the prints which were classed as third states, and the later state among the firsts and seconds. Where no alterations were made in the plates during the printing of the published states, it is impossible to be sure that the prints on small paper were always printed first, but the instances I have referred to prove that in some cases at least they were.

Not only is Mr Rawlinson's classification according to the paper on which impressions are printed unscientific,—for the only satisfactory arrangement of states must depend upon the work on the plates themselves—but he has made a mistake in the description of his first state. The publishers' account of the issue in question is as follows:—'For the accommodation of the Curious, a few Proofs will be printed on India paper, Imperial Quarto, First Impressions price £1 10s. each Part; for these an early application must be made to the Publishers.' This shows that the only distinction between the impressions in the 30s. parts and those in the 18s. parts, was that the former were on India paper, the latter on Whatman or plain paper. Mr Rawlinson's description is as follows:—'*First Pub. State.* ('Proofs for the Curious on India Paper.') Title and artists' names in italics. Before Pub. line and Date. The finest impressions on India paper; others on plain paper.' It is evident that he had never seen a set of 'Proofs for the

Curious', and that he mistook the completed engravers' proofs for them. It is the engraver's proofs which have the lettering he has described, and some of these are on India, and others on plain paper. His remark, too, '*Throughout the series this is invariably the finest State*', evidently applies to the completed engravers' proofs, for these are always finer than the published states, even those on India paper.

I was therefore forced to re-arrange the published states according to the work on the plates, while keeping a record of the kind of paper, India and Plain, on which they were printed. I then thought I had better verify Mr Rawlinson's account of the Reprints. He describes four separate series of them, the second, Reprint B, having been issued, he tells us, in 'The Art Journal' of various dates. But though I have hunted through all volumes of the 'Art Journal' from 1849 to 1900, I have not been able to find that a single plate of the 'Southern Coast' series was published in them. This reduces the number of reprints from four to three.

In this way the present catalogue has come into existence. Instead of being, as I had at first hoped, nothing more than a supplement to what Mr Rawlinson had done, it has become almost a new work. I have, however, retained Mr Rawlinson's numbers for the plates.

INTRODUCTION

The 'Southern Coast' was planned and produced by William Bernard Cooke, an accomplished line-engraver, who about 1810 set up in business as a publisher of prints and illustrated books. He was then thirty-two years of age, and his brother, George Cooke, who was closely associated with him in the business, was three years younger. They had both been trained as engravers by James Basire.

The object of the enterprise was to provide employment for the two young engravers and to secure a share of the employer's profits upon their own work. The management of artistic details was in the hands of W. B. Cooke, but in matters of finance he had to consult a syndicate which he had formed, consisting of the publishers John Murray and Messrs J. and A. Arch, and others.

No copy of the original prospectus is known to us, but the general scheme of the publication can be gathered from the letterpress on the brown paper covers of the serial parts. On the cover of the first part, which was issued in January, 1814, we are told that the work was to be completed in sixteen parts, and that each part would contain three full-page plates and two vignettes, with descriptive letterpress for each view. This would give a total of 48 full-page plates and 32 vignettes, which was the actual number published. But we are also told that the completed work would contain 50 full-page plates and 30 vignettes, a statement which appeared on the covers of all the parts until the twelfth, and it was only on the thirteenth that the numbers were corrected.

The parts were issued at three different prices. The cheaper, at 12s. 6d. each, were in Royal Quarto (12½ by 10 inches), the plates and letterpress being printed on Whatman paper. The 18s. parts were also on Whatman, but they had larger margins, the size being Imperial Quarto (15 by 11 inches). An *edition de luxe* was also published in the same size, 'for the accomodation of the Curious' at £1 10s. each part, with the plates printed on India paper; but the subscription for these parts must have been small, as impressions on India paper are excessively rare.

The completed work in Cooke's grandiose imagination was to be the first instalment of a series of similar publications, which were to illustrate the coast of England, Scotland, and Wales. The series was to be 'divided into separate Divisions, forming in themselves complete Works similar to the present one.' The 'Southern Coast' according to this plan extended from the Nore, round the coasts of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall, to Watchet in Somerset on the Bristol Channel. What the exact delimitations of the Eastern, Western, and Northern Coasts would have been we have no means of knowing, for Cooke's 'Circuit of England' was never carried beyond its first division.

In the absence of any copy of the original prospectus it is impossible to say exactly what promises had been made as to the date when the 'Southern Coast' was to have been completed, but the dates and announcements on the covers of the earlier parts, and the dates on the plates which they contained, show that at first it had been intended to publish the parts at intervals of three months or less. The plates in Part I are dated 1 January, 1814, those in Part II, 1 March, 1814, and it is stated on their cover that 'The Third Part will be published on the First of May, 1814.' The plates in Part III are, however, dated 1 June, but on the cover there is the announcement that 'The Fourth Part will be published on the First of August, 1814, and the succeeding Parts every Three Months.' Yet the dates on the vignettes in Part IV are 1 October, and on the full-page plates, 1 November. The part was evidently three months late, but its cover boldly declared that' The Fifth Part will be published on the First of December, 1814.' If we take the latest date on the plates in Part V as the probable date of its issue, it was not ready till March, 1816, which would make it fifteen months late. By this time even Cooke seems to have realized that it would be prudent to make no more definite promises. The announcement on Part V runs:'The succeeding Numbers of this Work will be published as soon as possible. The exertions already made on some of the future Subjects, will secure an earlier publication of them.'

Had the intention of issuing the parts every three months been carried out, the whole work would have been completed by December, 1817. By that date only eight of the parts had been issued, and it was not till May, 1826, that the sixteenth and final part was published.

Cooke's responsibility for these delays cannot be denied, and they were caused, I believe, by his passion for undertaking more work than he could perform. At the commencement of the 'Southern Coast' it had been announced that all the plates would be engraved by W. B. Cooke and George Cooke, but after the publication of the eleventh part the assistance of other engravers had to be called in. Of the last 15 full-page plates which were issued not one was engraved by W. B. Cooke, and only four were engraved by George Cooke, the others, together with most of the vignettes, were engraved by William Miller, Edward Goodall, R. Wallis, W. Radclyffe, John Horsburgh, etc. Had not the assistance of these engravers been called in it is doubtful whether the work would have been completed.

Cooke's want of forethought and his habit of making reckless promises were evidently displeasing to John Murray, for his name as publisher disappeared from the cover of Part X. So far as we know, however, the immediate cause of Cooke's rupture with Murray was in connexion with another publication, the 'Views in Sussex', which Cooke was to have engraved and produced. As the first part of this work was not ready by the appointed time Murray refused to advertise it in the list of his publications issued in one of the numbers of his

'Quarterly Review' for 1819. On the 3rd of June, 1819, Cooke wrote a letter in which he complained bitterly of what he described as Murray's malignity and littleness, and his 'downright deviation from all Principles of honesty or justice,' and declared that 'no failure of promises .... on my part can be any excuse for' Murray's conduct. Cooke however admits that he had himself failed to do what he had promised, and that his promises had been 'dictated by an enthusiasm or too great confidence in (his) own powers as to time.' This letter, which is printed in full in Appendix A, throws a vivid light on Cooke's character and habits of thought and expression; it also seems sufficient to explain the delays and irregularities in the publication of the parts of the 'Southern Coast.'

The success of the speculation was entirely dependent upon the attractions of the engravings. Cooke had found an excellent subject-matter. Scenes on the English coast had the charm of novelty, for in the Introduction to a rival publication dealing with this subject, William Daniell's 'Voyage round Great Britain,' which was begun at the same time, it is stated that 'While the inland counties of England had been hackneyed by travellers and quartos, the coast has hitherto been most unaccountably neglected, and if we except a few fashionable watering-places, is entirely unknown to the public.' All that was wanted was to discover designers who would do justice to the possibilities of this novel and attractive theme. Cooke showed courage and good judgement in his choice of designers. His original plan was to divide half the full-page subjects among veteran topographers like Edridge, Alexander, F. Nicholson, S. Owen, and G. Arnald, and younger water-colour painters like de Wint, W. Westall, W. Havell and Luke Clennell; the other half was to be entrusted to Turner. But this plan was not carried out. No full-page plates by Nicholson, Arnald, nor Clennell appeared; Westall and de Wint contributed two each, Edridge, Alexander, Owen and Havell only one each, and Joshua Cristall, whose name had not been included, also one; and instead of the twenty-four plates which Turner was to have designed he contributed no less than thirty-nine.

The reason for this change of plan is obvious if we examine the plates in the first four numbers. Those designed by Owen, Westall, Edridge, de Wint and Alexander, though charming and accomplished in design, and skilfully engraved, are markedly inferior in interest and in their powers of attraction to the plates designed by Turner. After the issue of these four parts Cooke was clever enough to see that if his publication was to hold its own in competition with Daniell's rival 'Voyage round Great Britain', in which the plates had the advantage of being coloured, he would have to rely to an even greater extent than he had at first intended upon the power and novelty of Turner's imaginative designs.

Turner's first contract with Cooke was to supply twenty-four drawings at

the price of £7 10s. each. This was the remarkably low price paid for the drawings which were published in the first four parts; among these were the beautiful 'Land's End', 'Poole', 'Weymouth', and 'Lyme Regis'. After the publication of the fourth part, when a new agreement was made, Turner's price for his future drawings was increased to £10 10s. each. These details are taken from a letter which Cooke wrote to Turner in January, 1827 (the letter is printed in full in the Appendix). From this letter we also learn that Cooke was at first paid twenty-five guineas for engraving a plate, and that when the new agreement was made this price was increased to forty pounds.

It is evident from the smallness of Turner's prices that money could not have been the sole object of his exertions in this undertaking. A more important consideration with him was his love of fame. It is true that he was even at that time the most famous and successful landscape painter in England, but the number of people interested in oil paintings and water-colours was limited, and they were mostly persons of high rank or great wealth. Engraving, on the other hand, had a wider appeal; it brought the artist into communication with all classes of society. It was the one democratic form of pictorial art; it combined in itself all those functions which to-day have been assumed by photography and its dependent mechanical processes, by posters, etchings, and illustrated newspapers. That Turner should seize with alacrity the opportunities afforded by the command of such a medium for making his name and talents familiar to the larger public of his day, is entirely in keeping with his character. And not only did he value engraving for its power of spreading his reputation among his contemporaries; he firmly believed in its power to sustain his reputation with posterity.

But though Turner loved fame, he was also immensely interested in engraving as a medium of expression. He had lavished his time and energies on the engraving of his 'Liber Studiorum.' The plates he himself had engraved are among the masterpieces of mezzotint-engraving, and his powers of leadership had been amply displayed in the guidance and inspiration of men like Charles Turner, Clint, Dawe and Dunkarton. But John Pye's plate of 'Pope's Villa', engraved in 1810, had shown that line-engraving contained possibilities which he had not hitherto appreciated. Turner was delighted with the luminosity of Pye's plate: 'This will do!' he is said to have remarked to the engraver, 'you can see the light; had I known there was a man who could do that, I would have had it done before.' Perhaps he began then to dream of a second 'Liber Studiorum' which should be engraved not in mezzotint but in line. But a line-engraving costs twice or thrice as much to produce as a mezzotint; and he was already heartily sick of the petty worries entailed by acting as his own publisher. Cooke's enterprise relieved him of all financial and business responsibilities, and gave him control of the services, at first of two, and later of several, of the most skilful and intelligent of the younger line-engravers.

All mediums have their special beauties and limitations, and there can be no doubt that mezzotint was peculiarly adapted to Turner's manner in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It is true that even then he had horrified pedants like Sir George Beaumont by the 'licenses' with which he had transformed traditional methods into a more vivid and emotional form of expression. Yet on the whole his colour, tone, and methods of design had remained well within the traditional formulas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He had not then freed himself from the 'brown demon' of the older masters, and mezzotint was the divinely appointed medium for its rendering. When he began work on the 'Southern Coast' he had almost shaken off the 'brown demon', and was feeling his way towards the re-discovery of the 'white picture' of modern art, with all that it implies of naturalism, atmosphere, and vivacity. Work of this kind was at cross-purposes with the capacities of mezzotint; what was wanted was a medium capable of rendering the most delicate gradations of light. Pye's engraving of 'Pope's Villa' had convinced Turner that line-engraving could give him the subtle brilliance of tone and the sustained glow of light which he was striving for in his oil paintings and water-colours.

The relationship between the designer of a plate and its engraver is usually simple and the division of labour clearly defined: the designer makes his drawing in any medium he chooses, and the engraver transposes or reproduces the drawing into his own medium. But Turner was not prepared to leave the transposition entirely to the engravers. He was far from satisfied with the line-engravings which had hitherto been made from his drawings,—Pye's engraving of 'Pope's Villa', to which I have just referred, was made from a large oil painting. We have only to look at James Heath's engravings from Turner's drawings in Mawman's 'Excursion', or William Byrne's, in 'Britannia Depicta', to understand why Turner was dissatisfied with such work, and why he should wish to bring it into more intimate relation with his own feelings. To do this it was imperative that he should think and feel in terms of line-engraving, though he did not intend to practise the executive part of the work himself.

Our knowledge of the details of Turner's share in the production of these engravings must be derived from the evidence of such working-proofs as are available. No doubt there was a considerable amount of verbal communication between Turner and his engravers, but no records of it have been preserved. We are more fortunate with regard to the working-proofs, for George Cooke, who engraved more than a quarter of the plates, was careful to preserve a nearly complete series of proofs of his own plates. He also collected proofs of his brother's and other engravers' plates. His collection was at one time in the library of the first Baron Tweedmouth, but it is now owned by Mr C. Mallord William Turner, who has with the greatest kindness given me every facility for studying it. Other proofs are in the British Museum and in various private collections.

These proofs show that Turner regarded his water-colours of the engraved

subjects merely as guides to the engravers in the preliminary stages of their work. Their purpose was exactly the same as that of the pen and sepia drawings used in the 'Liber Studiorum'. The first stage of the engraver's work was to make his plate 'correspond with the drawing'. When this was done a proof was submitted to Turner, who praised the good points of the work, showed how the bad parts could be improved, and indicated—generally by drawing on the proofs—what additional work was required. This process of revision was then repeated till Turner was satisfied, or the exigencies of publication made further alterations impossible.

It has been generally assumed that the object of these revisions was to make the engravings closer reproductions of the original drawings. But comparison of the earlier states with the later shows clearly that this was not Turner's object. The earlier states are more like the drawings than the later, and in many cases, as in 'Watchet' (R. 107), 'Hythe' (R. 118), and 'Boscastle' (R. 121), they are nearly perfect as reproductive engravings; and, I may add, they are more delicate, more stimulating to the imagination, and more accurate in their tone, than any photographic reproductions of the original drawings could be. That some people would prefer these earlier states to the completed plate I readily admit. But they were not what Turner wanted. He wanted these engravings to be self-supporting, to be strong and effective in their own right, and to utter what was in his mind and heart directly in their own particular medium.

To realize how much Turner's supervision counted in the production of these engravings we must be able to compare the proofs of the plates before they had been submitted to him, with the same proofs after he had drawn upon (or 'touched') them, and with those taken after the engravers had carried out his revisions and alterations. A good example for this purpose would be Engraver's Proofs 1, 1 (a), and 2, of 'Dover from Shakespeare's Cliff' (R. 126). In 1, the sky is a dull flat tone of grey without any clouds in it; there were presumably none in the drawing. 1 (a), once in the Theobald Collection, now belonging to Dr G. Bellingham Smith, is a proof of the same state extensively worked over by Turner with pencil and knife. The sky seemed to him heavy and monotonous, so he scraped a number of light fleecy clouds with his knife across the upper part. He also lightened parts of the Castle and the hill on which it stands, darkened the sea with pencil and worked over all the middle distance and foreground. The margins are filled with scribbled instructions and explanations: such as, 'The sky is so unequal and in Streaks that I must propose Clouds by way of Relief from the heavy tone the said lines give it. The whole of the Castle Hill is too dark—keep therefore the lights bright and clear.' The results of this revision are seen in proof 2, in the Tweedmouth Collection. The effect of the changes is almost magical: the whole scene has come to life and is flooded with sunlight. Turner was evidently pleased with the new proof, for he wrote in the margin: 'The Sky is much better', but he thought it could still be improved.

Further lights were then scraped in the sky and on the Castle hill; there are pencil touches on the distant sea, the Castle, the cliffs, the buildings on shore on the extreme right, the figures on the beach, the waves, the boats, the soldier in the foreground, and the bastion on his right.

We must not, however, assume that such revisions are due to a passion for the accumulation and definition of detail for its own sake. Turner takes out or tones down more detail than he adds. When he adds or defines it is always either to tighten up the design or to emphasize the general effect. He found that clumsily suggested forms did not play their proper part in the pattern he was weaving; they either weakened the design by attracting attention to the wrong place, or by failing to give adequate support where it was wanted. For instance, the labour lavished upon the alterations which were made in the little rowing boat on the beach and the lines of surf above it, in the right-hand corner of 'Dover', would be out of all proportion to its value for purposes of realization; but when we consider the part these forms play in the design the labour is amply justified.

There can be no doubt that Turner's water-colours were but ill-adapted to the requirements of the engravers. They omitted too much in the realization of detail, and his use of colour must have bothered and confused them. But if Turner had adapted his drawings to the requirements of the engravers he would have been compelled to revolutionize his style; he would have had to sacrifice all those qualities in his drawings which his contemporaries, and probably he himself, valued most highly,—their swift suggestiveness, their fervour, and unexpected beauties of manipulation. The more we consider the matter the more clearly must we realize that Turner's procedure in the production of these engravings was the only practical and severely logical course open to him. It was the only way in which he could do full justice to the two mediums. It left him free in his water-colours to think and work solely in terms of water and of colour; to make them as exquisite in colour, as delicate, subtle, and slight, in their suggestions of form, as he has made them. And while the plates were being engraved he was able to concentrate all his powers on form and the development of the special capacities of the medium.

If we compare the engravings thus produced with those of the 'Liber Studiorum' we find such marked differences that at first we are inclined to make too much of them. Take for instance the 'Junction of the Severn and Wye' (in the 'Liber Studiorum') and compare it with 'Poole' (in the 'Southern Coast'); the one seems to belong to the eighteenth century, the other to the nineteenth. The figure of the dying Gladiator in the foreground of one is merely a stock figure of the Claudesque type of landscape, while the waggoner and his team in the other are not in the least ideal or classical, but just common denizens of the actual world in which Turner was living. There is the same contrast in the treatment of the foregrounds, distance and skies; in the one plate everything is

vague and generalized, while the other plate seems so actual and particular that a careless critic would describe it as a mere transcript from nature,—the very words used by so competent a critic as the late Sir Walter Armstrong of 'The Frosty Morning', which Turner painted at about the same time. There is the same striking contrast between 'Norham Castle' and 'Dover Castle', 'Hind Head Hill' and 'Land's End', 'Coast of Yorkshire' and 'Bridport', 'Dunstanborough Castle' and 'Pendennis Castle', the 'Lake of Thun' and 'Fowey Harbour'. In each of the 'Liber' subjects there is some swiftly selected feature of a theme embroidered in the approved grand manner and steeped in Wilsonian or Poussinesque gloom. By comparison the 'Southern Coast' plates seem almost photographic in their realism.

Yet we can easily make too much of these differences, as I think Ruskin did at one time. If we look carefully we soon see that the change from the 'Liber Studiorum' to the 'Southern Coast' was the result of a natural and spontaneous growth of Turner's powers. He is just as much a designer, an inventor of patterns, a poet, in the 'Southern Coast' as in the 'Liber', and there is the same keen observation and love of Nature in the 'Liber' as in the 'Coast'. But by the time the 'Coast' series was designed his knowledge had increased and his sympathies deepened. This growth of love and knowledge accounts for the change which came over his work; he had seen more and knew more, his mind was filled with clearer-cut images, and the patterns he wove were more intricate and more finely articulated. This growth of Turner's mind, I may add, is as clearly marked in those designs for the 'Liber' which were made during the progress of the 'Southern Coast,' such as the unpublished 'Crowhurst' (76), 'Stork andAqueduct' (83) and 'Lost Sailor' (84), as in the 'Coast' designs themselves.

It is therefore a serious error to see in these engravings nothing more than their naturalism. They were, it is true, the first engravings in which the nineteenth-century feeling for nature found authoritative expression: the first engravings which represented the actual world of daily experience in its fulness of light and shade, its rich variety, its multiplicity of detail. But these qualities do not sufficiently distinguish Turner's work from that of many later naturalistic landscape painters. Where he differs from them all, and stands unrivalled among modern artists, is in the power with which he welds together a mass of keenly observed and vividly remembered impressions into a truly poetical unity.

Take for instance 'Land's End.' It would be useless for me to attempt to describe it; only the engraving itself can create the full imaginative response to its own majestic harmonies of shape and pattern. Let the reader look at this engraving for himself, and I think he must feel, as I do, that he has before him one of the most sublime creations of the engraver's art, a graven poem almost overwhelming in its power and terrible restraint. I rack my memory in vain to find many other landscape-engravings, apart from some of Turner's other plates,

that might be ranked beside it. I think of Rembrandt's 'Three Trees', or better still, his 'Landscape with Trees, Farm Buildings and a Tower' (Bartsch 223); some Japanese prints of Storms and Mountains; a few of the finer plates by our living etchers: assuredly engravings of this quality of imagination are rare, but I can think of none that is to me more moving or more beautiful than Turner's 'Land's End.'

I find the same supreme qualities in 'Poole', though the emotions it evokes are so different. This plate has the passion or emotion of life itself, yet all the details have been selected and arranged by Turner's imagination, and fashioned by his hand into an object, shapely, clear-cut, and permanent. It always strikes me as the archetype of a great number of paintings, drawings and engravings, which other English artists have since produced.

The two plates, 'Poole' and 'Land's End', are perhaps the finest among the 'Southern Coast' engravings, but there are nearly a score of others which run them very close. Among them are 'Bridport', 'Ilfracombe', 'Fowey', 'Pendennis Castle', 'Boscastle', 'Clovelly', 'Folkestone', 'Mew Stone' and 'Rye.' The chief actors in all of these are the sea, the wind, and the earth, yet each plate is so individual that it seems to be an accurate portrait of a place. Turner has so keen an eye, so prodigious a memory, and he makes so effective a use of local characteristics, that he tempts the unobservant to accept his imaginative constructions as faithful representations of what anybody could see if they went to these places. But it is better to regard these plates as a series of poems dealing with different parts of the English coast, in some ways analogous to the series of Shakespeare's plays on various episodes or periods in English history. It is difficult to isolate one from the rest. To do so would impoverish Turner's imaginative conception of this Island.

In these plates, where the sea is the chief actor, Turner's power is perhaps more clearly shown than in those designs in which man and his doings come more to the front; as in 'Plymouth Dock', 'Dover', 'Hythe', and 'Dartmouth'. These plates are chiefly concerned with towns, quays, docks, wharves, warehouses, fortifications, workmen, fishermen, fishwives, soldiers and their baggage, rollicking sailors with their fiddles, grog-bottles, and women. If their subject-matter were analysed and described in the way Francis Jeffrey treated Wordsworth's 'Excursion' and the 'White Doe of Rylstone', they would certainly appear vulgar and prosaic. And even so fine a critic as Ruskin seems to have shied at such subjects. We know that he was annoyed at what he called the 'strange impartiality' of Turner's mind. He thought it 'a sorrowful matter' that Turner should paint the reaches of the Thames, in 'London from Greenwich.' And he tells us that he was so 'provoked' because there was a manufactory in Turner's lovely drawing of 'Richmond Castle and Town' (in the 'Richmondshire' series) that he had to sell it.

It is not surprising therefore that many people misunderstand, or fail to under-

stand, these designs. But the fault is theirs, not Turner's. The most beautiful poem is dead to a reader who will not or cannot read it poetically, and these engravings are as nothing to those who will not look at them poetically. Such people will see nothing in them but their 'subject', yet the 'subject' of a picture is only a fragment of its meaning torn from its context; and those who have eyes for nothing more than this will naturally miss all that range of idea and emotion which is called up by the 'form'. It is impossible to translate into words the whole meaning of a work of art. 'Just as there is in music not sound on one side and a meaning on the other, but expressive sound, and if you ask what is the meaning you can only answer by pointing to the sounds; just as in painting there is not a meaning *plus* paint, but a meaning *in* paint, or significant paint, and no man can really express the meaning in any other way than in paint and in *this* paint; so in a poem the true content and the true form neither exist nor can be imagined apart.' (A.C. Bradley, 'Oxford Lectures on Poetry', pp. 15, 16.)

But though the true content of these engravings cannot be put into words, and though all attempts at a partial interpretation are hazardous and sometimes absurd, yet, as Mr Bradley admits, an indication of the 'spirit' of a design, or the 'idea' it may be supposed to embody, may sometimes help others to see and feel for themselves. I will therfore attempt to indicate very roughly the idea, or the emotional tone, which seems to me to be embodied in such an engraving as 'Plymouth Dock from Mount Edgecumbe.'

The spirit, I feel, is one of perfect happiness and contentment. 'All's right with the world' it seems to say, and especially with England, its ships, and its sailors. It is not only that the four sailors in the foreground and their companions are evidently feeling jolly; the vigorous trees on their left dance with them, the other trees nod approval, and the distant harbour with its fleet, the town, and hills, echo their mirth. Nor is it that Turner has suppressed or omitted all signs of suffering or hardship. He does not 'put by' the cloud of mortal destiny, he fronts it fearlessly and overcomes it. He knew the hardships and dangers of a sailor's life better than we know them. Many of those gallant ships riding so serenely at anchor had watched and fought with Nelson, and the sailor with the fiddle has a wooden leg, just to remind us of these things. Nor does Turner idealise his sailors; he does not attempt to make them look heroic, or their women refined and graceful. They are all very common. Yet I feel that Turner loved them, as he loved England, and his refusal to sentimentalise or prettify his figures seems to me one of the best proofs of the sincerity and strength of his love.

I find the same spirit of love and admiration of England and Englishmen in 'Dover from Shakespeare's Cliff,' 'Hythe', and 'Dartmouth', but I can find no trace of arrogance or vain glory in any of the plates. He does not exaggerate any beauties nor extenuate any shortcomings. He seems to have liked 'Deal', 'Whitstable', 'Watchet', 'Teignmouth', 'Lyme Regis', and 'Weymouth', just as much as 'Dartmouth', 'Pendennis Castle', and 'Dover.' He evidently found

'Brighton', 'Ramsgate', and 'Margate' rather difficult to deal with, but I can see no signs that he disliked them or would have had them different even if he could. He is always sternly truthful and strangely impartial. He sees all these places peopled with tough little men and women, by no means like Greek gods, seldom even comely or graceful, but active, industrious, and inured to danger. He liked them all, and he not only liked to watch them and draw them as they went about their daily work and enjoyed an occasional holiday, but he also felt that it was good that they should live and work, and suffer and rejoice, exactly in this way.

I am only too painfully aware of the poverty of these efforts to describe the atmosphere of infinite suggestion which is conjured up by these engravings, but where the most eloquent words would be inadequate, they may pass. For the reader can enrich or amend them. He can look at these engravings for himself, and as his eyes rejoice in the magic of shape and pattern which Turner has invented, he will find their meaning expand beyond the narrow limits of their subject-matter into something that will satisfy, not his imagination only, but his whole being.

It is by comparison an easy matter to write of the technical merits of these engravings. It requires no effort of the imagination to perceive the lucidity, knowledge and skill, with which all objects that come within their scope are treated by Turner and the engravers. Turner draws the sea, sky, trees, rocks and land, as they had never been drawn before and have never been drawn since. He draws everything with the intimacy of a lover and the impartiality of a judge. His figures, too, are treated with the same knowledge, sympathy and power as the features of the landscape. Look at the men hauling wreckage in 'Pendennis Castle', the waggoner and his team in 'Poole', the shrimper and bathers in 'Lyme Regis', the soldiers and baggage-train in 'Hythe'. These are not the ordinary picturesque accessories of the landscape painter; nor are they fine academical studies carefully posed to show the artist's skill. They are real men and women, each has character and individuality, their actions and forms have the modesty of nature, and they take their places inevitably where the artist has put them. They are at one with the sea and the landscape.

And with what admirable docility, intelligence and skill, has each engraver worked out Turner's intentions. Look at the variety of textures, the subtle distinctions of tone on sea and land and sky, the integrity of their forms, the masculine directness and firmness of their line. With what infinite patience and loyalty have they followed Turner's lead. How gladly they seem to have given Turner of the best that was in them. And how nobly Turner has used them. What respect he has shown for each engraver's special gifts and habits of hand, so that each man's work remains his own and distinct from that of the others. You can tell at a glance George Cooke's work from that of his brother's, Miller's from the Cookes', Radclyffe's from Miller's, and Goodall's from Radclyffe's.

Yet not one of these men could engrave so well when they were employed by any other artist. Only Turner could thus raise them above themselves, and draw out their powers to their full stretch.

My study of the 'Southern Coast' engravings proves I think conclusively that the criticisms which maintain that the water-colours were sacrificed to the requirements of the engravers, and that the engravings are only reproductions of the water-colours, are ill-founded. It proves that Turner's water-colours were wrought in entire independence of the engraver's requirements, and that the engravings were not mere reproductions of the drawings but independent creations in terms of line-engraving. I have no wish to exaggerate the importance of these points, but I do think they are worth making, and that they contribute something towards a better understanding of Turner's life and work.

Nor am I disposed to admit that the classification and description of the states of these engravings is nothing more than a concession to the whims of collectors. Where engravings have been literally worn to death, and botched, and re-botched, it is important to distinguish the good impressions from the bad, and the finest from the good. It would I think have almost broken Turner's heart if he could have foreseen the wretched travesties of his work which were issued in large numbers by Messrs Virtue & Co., for in 1838 he bought up all the plates of the 'England and Wales' series, at a cost of £3,000, simply to prevent them from falling into the hands of an unscrupulous publisher who would have printed from them after they had been worn out. Yet it is from Virtue's reprints that many of the present generation must have derived their conceptions of Turner's engravings.

The impressions in Nattali's reprint of 1849 are not so bad as the later ones by Virtue, but the copper plates even then were in poor condition. The only impressions which are not an insult to Turner's genius are those of the original issue by W. B. Cooke. The best of the published states are those on India paper, but there are very good ones among the proofs and prints on Whatman paper. But no hard and fast rule can be made. Each impression must be judged on its merits. The plates very soon began to deteriorate, and the care exercised in its printing counted for much in the quality of each impression. But by far the finest impressions are invariably those of the completed engraver's proofs. These were of necessity earlier than any of the published states; the plates were then in perfect condition, and the greatest care was taken in their printing. Fortunately they are far from being excessively rare. The engravers were evidently proud of their work, and they were in the habit of presenting these choice impressions to their friends and patrons, as the inscriptions written on the margins of many of them prove. And in addition, Turner insisted upon receiving four of these impressions of each plate for his own collection; some of these he gave away, and the others were brought into circulation by the sales of 1873 and 1874.

THE CATALOGUE

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE Mount, with Castle and Chapel on its summit, is in the centre in strong sunlight against a stormy sky. On the left, the causeway connecting the Mount with Marazion, with cliffs and line of sea in the distance; in front, the sea with sailing-boats, and in the foreground on the left men are hauling a boat ashore. The subject was sketched by Turner in 1811; see his pencil sketches in the 'North Devon' Sketch Book, Turner Bequest, CXXV (a).
The water-colour, which was once in the Heugh collection, was exhibited at Agnew's gallery in 1900.
Plate-mark, 9 by 11⅞ inches: Engraved Surface, 5⅞ by 8¾ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner. R. A.' : 'Etched by W, B. Cooke. 1813': with title on left about ⅜ inch below lower border-line.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 194, G. Bellingham Smith, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Nearly all the plate is engraved, but blank spaces remain on castle, houses beside quay, and parts of castle hill.
Plain: Boston, Mass.,—inscribed in pencil on margin, 'only two'.

1 (a). Touched impression of same state. Marked in pencil for strengthening parts of castle rock on right, the rocks in the sea, and the sea in middle-distance and in foreground on the right. Inscribed in pencil on lower margin: 'Touched by J. M. W. Turner, R. A.—W. B. Cooke.' *Plain:* British Museum.

2. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. Touched in pencil and sepia on rocks on right, mainsail of boat above, and sky. Written in pencil on margins: 'This rock' (i.e. the one on the right) 'looks black but not clear—what I should call mealy or wanting in quality,—too much done to it, or not open-lined enough to hold its place, nor making the sky look clear, by its wanting contrast of line.' (A number of pencil lines are then drawn showing how the rock should have been engraved.) '? what can you do (to) it. Can you make it bolder—*now,* or must it go as it is. N.B. You have no occasion to stop *printing* if it is of consequence to the work to proceed immediately.' *Plain:* British Museum.
This is probably the proof which was touched and corrected at Farnley, towards the end of November, 1813. Turner's covering letter to Cooke is published in Ruskin's DILECTA, (Works, Lib. Ed. XXXV, pp. 587, 588). The following passage occurs in it:—'Your number coming out on the 10th of December I think impossible; but to this I offer only an opinion (what difference

would it make if the two numbers of the Coast, Daniel's and yours, came out on the same day?). All I can say, I'll not hinder you, if I can avoid it, one moment.'

3. Same lettering. Rock on right re-engraved, and lower part of mainsail on ship above darkened. *India:* G. B. Smith.

3 (a). Touched impression of same state. Touched with pencil and sepia on left foreground, and on clouds near centre. Crosses drawn over dark part of sky on right; 'this shadow rather too dark' written in margin. British Museum.

4. Same lettering. Dark clouds in top left enlarged and additional lines on beach in lower left corner; the sky on the right is lightened.
India: British Museum, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 195, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: St. MICHAEL'S MOUNT, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R. A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Jany. 1st 1814. Printed by Dixon. *India* and *Plain.*
(The title in centre of margin in two lines, the first line in open upright capitals, the second, in sloping open capitals; the artists' names, in upper and lower case Roman, were placed on the left and right close to the lower border-line of the engraving; the publication line and printer's name are in Italic near the outer edge of the margin, the publication-line in the centre, the printer's name on the right.
This style of lettering and arrangement was adopted throughout the series.)

SECOND STATE. Same lettering. Dark clouds in top left further enlarged and strengthened; additional modelling on cloud on left and additional work on lower part of sky on left; rain-clouds on extreme right lengthened. *India* & *Plain.*

REPRINTS

THE FIRST REPRINT was published by Nattali, in 1849, under title: 'Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour round the Southern Coast', 2 vols., 9 by 11¼ inches. The above lettering was retained but the publication line and Printer's name were removed. All the plates were worn; they were printed on stout plate paper and were cut within the plate-mark.

SECOND REPRINT. According to Mr Rawlinson the plates were then reprinted in the 'Art Journal' at various times, but this seems to be a mistake. Nor were any included in the 1875 edition of 'The Turner Gallery'. Most of the plates, however, were included in the later reprints of 'The Turner Gallery' issued 1880-1890. The old lettering was removed, and they were re-lettered generally with only one line of title, in upright open capitals; the artists' names were in

upper and lower case Roman, with the publication line of 'London: Virtue & Co. Limited.' in small even capitals. But 'St Michael's Mount' was not included in the series.

THIRD REPRINT. All the plates were reprinted for the last time in 1892, in a folio volume with the title: 'The Southern Coast of England. Illustrated by Forty Line Engravings after Drawings by J. M. W. Turner, R. A. With an Introduction by Marcus B. Huish. London. Virtue & Co. Ltd. 1892., 1 vol. 18 by 13 inches. This was called an 'Edition de Luxe'. It was limited to 500 copies. The plates were printed on India paper, and all lettering was removed. Some attempts were made to repair the worst plates, but they were all thoroughly worn out by this time and the results were deplorable.

NOTE. The punctuation of the lettering engraved on the plates is frequently erratic, and these errors have been preserved in the transcriptions, which are as accurate as the author and printer have been able to make them.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

LOOKING over Poole bay, with the town and harbour in the middle-distance on the right, Corfe Castle in the distance on the left. In the foreground a timber-waggon drawn by several horses is descending the hill, and a man is sleeping by the roadside on the right.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822; having been in the Dillon and Farnworth collections it was lent by Mr Holbrook Gaskell to the winter exhibition of the R.A. in 1886, and by Mr James B. Gaskell to an exhibition at the Manchester Whitworth Institute in 1912.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{7}{8}$ by $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{7}{8}$ by $8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Square portion of distant hill on right is blank. Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; with title on the left.
Plain: Tweedmouth 100, A. Wallis.

2. Square patch filled in.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 101, A. Wallis, G. B. Smith.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Plate partly engraved, i.e. cart, horses, waggoner, the landscape above them, and the water on the left. *India:* Tweedmouth 102.

2. Houses and boats in middle-distance, and parts on their right, are now engraved. *India:* Tweedmouth 103.

3. Distant hills and smoke on left are now engraved. *India:* Tweedmouth 104.

4. Delicate work added on houses in middle-distance, on distant water, etc. The sky still in the etched state. *India:* Tweedmouth 105.

5. Same lettering, but 'Etched' is now altered to 'Engraved'. The light parts of the sky are now engraved, yard-arms added to the masts of some of the ships near the harbour, etc.
India: Tweedmouth 107, inscribed, in pencil, 'Unfin'd G. C.', and, in ink, 'proved Dec'r 10. 1813.'

5 (a). Touched proof of same state. Inscribed 'second touched proof. Mr Turner's Touches Dec'r 19. 1813' (the first touched proof has not been traced). Touched in sepia on the darker clouds in top right corner, and on some clouds on the left; on the hillside on the right on both sides of the winding road, etc. There are two pencil crosses on the distant hills beyond Corfe Castle, and in

the margin is written: 'little lighter'. Above this is written: 'The rays not distinct enough & the distance round Corfe Castle is yet rather unequal. It looks patchy, and wants clearness, altho' much improved from the last proof.'
India: Tweedmouth 108.

6. Completed. Same lettering, except that the tail of the swash capital G (in 'George') has been altered. The slanting line of light across hills and water in the centre is now marked distinctly; the dark clouds on its right have additional cross-lines, and the clouds in the top right corner are similarly darkened, also the sky above and to right of castle; modelling has been added to the hillside on the right, and an additional line of hills is shown between the smoke on the right and the pyramidal hill on its left.
Plain: Tweedmouth 109; *India:* British Museum, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: POOLE, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Jan'y. 1st 1814. Printed by Cox & Barnett. *India* and *Plain*.

SECOND STATE. Same lettering. The sky, distant hills, and water, have been removed and re-etched.
Plain: Boston, Mass., and Tweedmouth 111, inscribed: 'Second sky—retouch Etching. G. C.'

THIRD STATE. No lettering—it seems to have been masked. Sky, distance and water are re-engraved.
Plain: Tweedmouth 106, inscribed: 'Unfinished. G. C.' Other impressions, without Inscription, on *India:* Boston, Mass., and A. A. Allen.

FOURTH STATE. Same lettering as First State. The dark tufts of grass on the bank above the roadside on the left now spring upwards from right to left, instead of from left to right as in First State. This is the readiest clue to distinguish the two states, but all the lines of sky and distance are different. The re-engraving has been done very skilfully. *India* and *Plain*.
(I have found impressions of this state among Rawlinson's First and Second States, but not among his Third States—the Royal Quarto Prints on plain paper, though some are probably in existence. Mr Rawlinson makes the re-engraved sky the characteristic of his Third State, and he supposed that the sky was re-engraved 'doubtless on account of the sky having worn away in printing the two previous States' (vol. I, p. 48); but it is evident that the finer lines of sky & distance gave way after the printing of a limited number of his First, Second and Third States, and the re-engraved plate was then used for the production of his First, Second, and possibly Third States.)

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with single line of title, and Virtue's publication line.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering. Plate still more worn.

This is one of the most beautiful designs in the series. As an arrangement of shapes it is perfect, and its powers of suggestion are beyond praise. Yet the poetry evoked can easily be missed if the statements of fact, into which the design can be analysed, are regarded merely as statements of fact. In the bald descriptions of the plates given at the head of each item in the catalogue, attention is limited to these matters of fact, but they are only the scaffolding of the fabric by which Turner awakens and controls our imagination; they are the means, not the end of his work.

These remarks are made only because what is obvious to all who enjoy imaginative art is so often denied by modern critics. They assume that an artist can suggest poetry or emotion without making statements about the visible world. But all the great imaginative painters, designers, sculptors, and engravers rely solely upon the statements they make—or the visual facts they represent, to create the proper imaginative reaction to their work. There are no exceptions to this rule.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

ROCKY slopes on the right, with granite columns in the foreground on which sea-gulls are perched; the sea on the left is in deep shadow from thunderstorm; masses of rock rise above the sea level in the distance, and there are flashes of lightning in the sky.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822, and was afterwards in the collection of Mr Crawshall, of Newcastle.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{15}{16}$ inches: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{19}{32}$ by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

Etched lettering, in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M. W, Turner. R A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; without title.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 198, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Nearer part of sea and rocks engraved.
Plain: S. L. Courtauld ex Rawlinson, and Tweedmouth 199—inscribed '1st Proof after the Etching'.

2. Distant sea and sky engraved, heavy cross-lines added over right-hand stone in centre foreground, and lines of spray above waves on left.
Plain: Tweedmouth 200, inscribed: 'No. 2'; and another on *India:* Tweedmouth 201, inscribed: '3rd proof Feb. 18. 1814'.

2 (a). Touched proof of same state. Touched for darkening distant sea and lower clouds, and for lightening waves near centre, the right side of higher rock on left, the lower slopes of foreground hillside, and upper slopes beyond on right. Lines of rain added in pencil over sea & sky on upper left. A sketch in lower margin of the stones in centre foreground showing how they should be re-engraved. Inscribed: 'Touched by Mr. Turner Feby. 19. 1814'.
India: Tweedmouth 203.

3. Centre foreground rocks have been taken out and re-worked; rocks on left lightened, distant sea and sky darkened; blank spaces on upper slopes on right filled in. But still before lines of rain on left. Inscribed: 'Unfinished G. C.'
India: Tweedmouth 202.

3 (a). Touched proof of same state. Touched for darkening distant sea, lower clouds, and rocks in foreground; the slopes of foreground hill lightened, with many light touches on waves in bay. Inscribed: 'Touched proof. Mr. Turner 2nd. Feb 21. 1814'.
India: Tweedmouth 204.

4. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved', and the title, 'Land's End Cornwall' is added in Italic on left. Lines of rain on left now engraved, and blank spaces on waves near centre filled in.
India: H. A. Mummery; *Plain:* S. L. Courtauld ex Rawlinson.

5. Same lettering. Lines of rain strengthened, distant sea and clouds darkened, thus emphasizing the break of light from above; shadows on foreground rocks darkened, and the face of the rock on their right lightened.
India: British Museum, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 205, A. Wallis.

6. Italic lettering removed and artists' names engraved in upper and lower case Roman; but without title and publication line. A small white space below the two dark rocks in centre foreground is now filled with short lines and dots; the lighter clouds above point of hill on right, and in centre and on the left, are darkened by a series of nearly upright cross-lines. *India:* A. Wallis, A. A. Allen.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: LAND'S END, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 1, 1814. Printed by Cox & Barnett. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with title in one line; Virtue's publication line. The plate a wreck; re-work on sky, making the dark clouds darker than the sea.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering. Impressions still poorer.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

LOOKING across the bay towards the South, with the peninsula of Portland in the distance on the left; the town on the shore in the middle-distance stretches from the centre to the extreme right; boats on the water, with women and children grouped beside boats on the shore in the foreground on the right. The water-colour, an exquisite harmony in yellow and blue, painted with delightful freshness and ease, was exhibited at Cooke's gallery in 1822; after passing through the Windus, Bale, and Hollingworth collections, it appeared at Christie's in July, 1927.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{15}{16}$ inches: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{13}{16}$ by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner, R.A.'; 'Etched by W, B, Cooke. 1813'; 'Weymouth' (on left).
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 134, Boston, Mass., G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Touched. Some clouds above sun are darkened with pencil; also shadow on water, the foreground bathing-woman, the hull, mast, sail and reflection of larger boat in foreground, and mast and main-sail of boat at its side. Dark touches are added on boats and figures in right foreground, on rows of houses in middle-distance, and on distant boats in centre. The line of sea on left is raised, and line of sea above houses in centre is straightened. Turner has added in margin: 'Line of sea not straight.' The engraver has made the white objects on the shore in middle-distance on the right look like sailing-boats; Turner has put a cross against them, and explains in the margin that they are 'Bathing Machines'. Inscribed: 'from W. B. C.' *Plain:* Tweedmouth 135.

2. Same lettering. Touched. The sailing-boats are now converted into bathing machines, and all the other alterations indicated in the previous proof have been made. The straightening and accenting of the line of distant sea above the houses in the centre is an immense gain to the design.
The upper part of the sail of foreground boat is touched for further darkening, and two crosses placed on the light tones on either side of the white spaces above the cumulus cloud in centre, indicate that the lines there are to be altered.
British Museum, cut down, and inscribed: 'Touched by Turner—W. B. Cooke'.

3. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. The sail is darkened, the light tones at top centre are burnished down, and their edges softened. *India:* British Museum, S. L. Courtauld, G. Bellingham Smith, & A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 136, and A. Wallis.

4. The Artists' names are now engraved, but no title nor publication line. *Plain:* A. Wallis ex Rawlinson.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: WEYMOUTH, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street Mar. 1, 1814. Printed by Cox & Barnett. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. Same lettering, but the right foreground is now darkened with additional cross-lines; the triangular space in the top right-hand corner is also darkened; the rays of light and bars of shade in top centre are more clearly defined; reflections of boats in middle-distance on left are enlarged, a line of shadow is added on the sea off the dark headland, and the sea is darkened in the centre. *Plain* (All the 'Proofs on Imperial Quarto', Plain, which I have seen are in this state).

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Most of the finer lines are worn away.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering. Sky re-engraved, but plate is bare and hard.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

A HIGH rocky headland of greyish limestone crags; beyond, on the left, a glimpse of the semi-circular bay, with the sea on the right. Beyond the bay are the cliffs of Warbarrow, with the rocks of Purbeck in the distance, and St. Alban's Head in the extreme distance on the right.
The water-colour was at one time in Mr Rawlinson's collection; it was sold recently in the Tatton sale at Christie's, December, 1928.
Plate-mark, 9 by 11 5/16: Engraved Surface, 5 3/4 by 8 5/8 inches.

ETCHINGS

1. Lettered in Italic: 'J, M, W, Turner, R A. delt, 1811'; 'etched by W, B, Cooke, 1812'; with title, 'Lulworth Cove, Dorset' on the left.
Before the thick cross-lines above and to left of the cavity in the rocks in the centre foreground. Touched in pencil over the light lines on the upper face of foreground rock, and on the shaded part below, just above the cavity through which the sea is seen. *Plain*: S. L. Courtauld ex A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering. The fine lines on face of rock in centre have been removed; also the lines of waves seen through the cavity in the lower centre; the shaded portions of rock on left of this opening are now covered with thick oblique cross-lines.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 121, G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, but 'etched' has been removed.
The blank space on rock is now filled with fine lines (different from those in first etching), and the opening in rocks below filled with a fresh series of lines representing waves. The sail of distant boat on right is now darkened.
Plain: A. Wallis ex Rawlinson.

2. Same lettering, but 'Engraved' is now added before 'by W, B, Cooke, 1812.' Lines of waves seen through opening in rocks are altered; the sea lightened on lower right, and lights added on waves in right lower corner; additional lines on sky just above horizon on right.
S. L. Courtauld and A. Wallis ex Rawlinson (Rawlinson's (a)).

3. Same lettering. A line of light is introduced above boat with mast in bay on left; smoke on cliffs in left centre enlarged; white space introduced on waves seen through opening in rocks. *Plain:* A. Wallis ex Rawlinson.

4. Same lettering. Swirls of smoke and white line above boat reduced; light

parts of upper foreground rock, cliffs on farther side of bay, and rocks in lower left corner, darkened. *India:* A. Wallis.

4 (a). Touched proof of same state. Lights on waves in lower and upper right darkened with pencil. British Museum.

5. Same lettering. Lights on waves reduced; a few lines added on light side of cliff in centre middle-distance; body added to wings of bird in left foreground. *India:* A. Wallis.

5 (a). Touched proof of same state. Two sails on right lightened; curve of bay increased towards centre; sky above dark triangular rock in distance darkened; also cliffs immediately below flagstaff.
India: S. L. Courtauld ex Rawlinson (Rawlinson's (b)).

6. Completed. Same lettering. Two sails on right lightened, curve of bay altered, and all the other corrections made on 5 (a) carried out.
India: British Museum, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, and Arthur Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 122, and A. Wallis ex H. P. Mellor.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: LULWORTH COVE, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, June 1st. 1814. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. The right sides of all the letters in title are thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering. The worn sky has been re-engraved.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

IN the centre at the top stands the ruined King's Tower or Keep of the Castle; it is encircled below by a series of towers; on the right the bridge of four lofty arches leads to the outer gate-way. Towards the foreground women are spreading linen to dry on the hillside.
The water-colour was once in the collection of Mr Humphrey Roberts.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{7}{8}$: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{11}{16}$ by $8\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered, in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner R,A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; no title. *Plain:* British Museum, Tweedmouth 112, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Tower on left of gateway has been re-lined; additional work on leaning tower on left, on fragment of masonry below it, on foreground, and within arches on right. *Plain:* Boston, Mass., A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering. The whole plate has now been engraved.
Tweedmouth 113, cut down, and inscribed: 'Unfin'd. G. C.'

3. Same lettering. Fine lines added on light parts of castle in upper centre; left side of tower on right lightened, and parts of strip of masonry in foreground darkened. *India:* Tweedmouth 114, inscribed: 'Unfinished G. C.'

3 (a). Touched proof of same state. Touched, in pencil, for darkening parts of the hill and upper part of farther arch of causeway, and horizontal markings within nearer arches; for strengthening & defining shapes on archway of Castle, the two towers at its side, the tower on the right, the wall and leaning tower on the left; the distant hill on extreme left is covered with lines curving downwards from left to right. Turner has written in the margin: 'This hill you had I think far better take out and place the lines as marked, and keep it lighter for it takes away now the conical shape of the Castle hill.' On the lower margin Turner has written: 'As to the cross lines which you propose doing over the sky in your note, I feel doubtful about. All strengths about the towers may be cross lines for they are too smooth, and the perpendicular tone prevails too much throughout the plate. The Linen on the hill much lighter.'
India: Tweedmouth 115, inscribed: 'touched by Mr Turner. Oct. 1814', & '1st.'

4. Re-lettered, in smaller Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.' now begins about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 'Engraved by George Cooke' nearly 6 inches from left border-line.

The distant hill on the left has been re-engraved, with lines laid in accordance with Turner's instructions. It is now lighter. Foreground hill, arches, towers, wall and gateway of Castle are strengthened. One sheet of linen lightened. Fine cross-lines added over upper part of sky. *India:* Tweedmouth 116.

4 (a). Touched proof of same state. Touches with Chinese white on lighter parts of tower to left of gateway, and pencil touches indicative of brick-work; a few pencil touches on light part of hill seen through gateway.
India: Tweedmouth 117, inscribed: 'touches by Mr Turner. 1814. Oct.'

5. Same lettering. Lights and marks of brickwork added on tower, and additional work on hillside seen through gateway.
India: Tweedmouth 118, inscribed: 'Unfin'd G. C.'; and G. B. Smith.

6. Same lettering, with title added on left.
All the linen is now lightened; the lights added on tower are subdued, and the transitions from light to dark softened.
India: A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 120, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.
(An impression of this state (Tweedmouth 119) is inscribed: 'touches by Mr Havell Oct. 24, 1814'. The sky around the centre part of Castle is lightened with Chinese white, and a high light is added on top of tower on left of gateway. This seems to have been an unsuccessful effort on Havell's part to improve Turner's arrangement of light and shade; no attempt appears to have been made to incorporate these alterations in the plate.)

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: CORFE CASTLE, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Nov. 1, 1814.
India and *Plain*.

SECOND STATE. The lines on the right side of all letters in first line of title are thickened. *India* and *Plain*.

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with Virtue's publication line, etc.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering. Repairs on sky.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

VIEW from the shore at Charmouth, looking across the bay to Lyme Regis in the middle-distance; cliffs on the right, with the town on bay in centre. A shrimper is in the foreground towards the left, and on the right women are bathing.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1871; it is now in the Glasgow Art Gallery (Donald collection).
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{7}{8}$: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{13}{16}$ by $8\frac{13}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering: 'J, M W, Turner RA, delt.'; 'W, B, Cooke. 1814.', with 'Etching' below; 'Lyme Regis' on the left. No bird in left upper sky.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 143, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, but 'Etching' has been removed.
Before diagonal markings on cliffs on the right.
Plain: Boston, Mass., S. L. Courtauld ex Rawlinson (Rawlinson's (a)).

1 (a). Touched proof of same state. The sky is darkened and markings are drawn in pencil on cliffs on right. Turner has written in the margin: 'You will perceive by the lay of the lines which I have added how I think they should be placed to counteract the sweeping line of all the hills, and the dots do pray mind to prevent the bald appearance it now has—the lights I want had better be reserved until the next proof. I have sent your Plymouth Citadel which arrived this morning. Friday.' *India:* British Museum (Rawlinson's (b)).

2. Same lettering. Sky darkened on the left and diagonal markings on cliff engraved. British Museum (Rawlinson's (c)).

2 (a). Touched proof of same state. Extensively touched in white; sea-gull drawn in upper left sky. British Museum (Rawlinson's (d)).
Cooke has written the following note on the margin of this proof: "On receiving this proof Turner expressed himself highly gratified; he took a piece of white chalk and a piece of black, giving me the option as to which he should touch it with. I chose the white—he then threw the black chalk to some distance from him. When done I requested he would touch another proof in black. 'No', said he, 'you have had your choice and must abide by it.' How the comparison

would have gratified the admirers of this great and extraordinary artist. W. B. C." Cooke must have written this long after the plate was finished. He seems to have forgotten that Turner had said, on the previous touched proof, that 'the lights I want had better be reserved until the next proof.' Turner evidently wanted the plate lightened, so he used white chalk to show what he wanted. What use another proof touched with black chalk would have been to Cooke, or anyone else, I cannot imagine.

3. Same lettering. Bird and other touchings engraved.
India: Tweedmouth 144; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: LYME REGIS, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street Nov. 1, 1814. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. The right side of all the letters in both lines of title are slightly thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with only one line of title: Virtue's publication line. The worn-out plate has been re-worked in parts of the sky.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

THE river in front, with the town and harbour on the left; the sun is setting near the centre, with the dark and gaunt hulls of two dismantled ships on the right. Some logs of wood and a boat with two men are in the foreground on the left.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822, and in Agnew's gallery in 1913. An oil painting of the same subject with variations in the boats and figures was painted by Turner in 1812; it was in Lord Egremont's collection, and is now the possession of Lord Leconfield, at Petworth.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, 6 by $8\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Before any lettering. *Plain:* H. A. Mummery.

2. Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J, M, W,, Turner. R,A.': 'Etched by George Cooke'; no title.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 150, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Partly engraved; upper part of sky still in etched state.
India: Tweedmouth 151, inscribed: '1st after Etching G. C.'; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., and A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering. White spaces on clouds in upper left and on right filled in; reflections added from boats and two distant figures; water darkened on left, log in centre foreground darkened, and white space below church filled in.
India: Tweedmouth 152, inscribed: 'unfin'd G. C.' and '2'.

3. Same lettering. White spaces on clouds, and on shirt sleeves of man in foreground boat, are now filled in. All half-tones strengthened. The disc of the sun is small and indefinite in shape. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 153.
In the margin Turner has written (evidently to W. B. Cooke): 'Dr. Sir, As so much depends upon the effect your Brother intends to bring the sky up to, I have not touched upon it, but could wish to see a Proof when he thinks he has done all he can to correspond with the *drawing*. But would advise him not to do anything to the water or foreground for the present, but to get richness, lightness and clearness to the sky—and the light flittering clouds, particularly in the upper part. I have sent you Falmouth and the Mew Stone drawings, with your sketch etc., of Falmouth.'

4. Same lettering. The sun enlarged, tones of sky deepened and more carefully

graduated; some bars of cloud are added above sun and lights brought out on the upper clouds.
Plain: British Museum, and Tweedmouth 154, which is inscribed: 'Unfinished G. C.' and '4'.

4 (a). Touched proof of same state. Pencil touches on masts, rigging, etc. of boats on left and towards centre, on church and houses below, and on ribs of hulk on right; rope and block added to mast above hulk: touches of Chinese white on upper part of sun and on clouds around it.
India: Tweedmouth 155, inscribed: '1st touched Proof Mr Turner. May 25. 1815'.

5. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved,' and title is added in lower margin in faint Italics, about 1½ inches from right border line. The touches on previous proof are engraved. Great gain in brilliance and depth. *India:* G. B. Smith.

5 (a). Touched proof of same state. The lower part of foremast of boat on right is drawn in. The lines of trees on slopes to left of church are said to be 'rather too positive'. On the left margin Turner has written: 'The tower of the Church requires a little more solidity about the upper part—but take care of blackness. One of the figures standing on the shore in the middle distance is too much a Falstaff, the other Master Slender. ?make the sun if you can more visible as to *disk*' (a half-circle drawn) 'at the uppermost side—and then the plate will *do*. The boat's foremast has no bottom to it. Burnish one in and make a shadow side to it.'
India: Tweedmouth 156, inscribed: 'Second touched Proof by Mr Turner May 28, 1815.'

6. Same lettering, but the title is more firmly cut. The lower part of foremast is engraved, and the upper curve of the sun marked; the hedgerows on the left are subdued, and the two figures in the middle distance are altered.
India: A. Wallis. *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 157, S. L. Courtauld, etc.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: TEIGNMOUTH, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London; Published by J. Murray, Albemarle Street, June 1st, 1815. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. The right side of all letters in first line of title is thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with only one line of title. Plate worn out; some re-work in sky.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE river in front looking towards the mouth of the harbour, with the Castle in the distance in the centre. The town is on the right on the wooded hills which shelve down to the water; boats with fishermen are at the quay in the foreground.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822; it was once in the collection of Charles Stokes, and later in that of Mr J. Morley, of Clapton.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.': 'Etched by W. B. Cooke. 1814'.; with title, 'Dartmouth Devon.' on the left.
Prominent gaps are left between the downstrokes representing reflections in the water and the horizontal lines of the water at their side; there are also several small gaps in water near centre. *Plain:* British Museum, and H.A. Mummery.

2. Same lettering. These gaps are now filled with fine lines, cut apparently with the graver.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Tweedmouth 164, G.B. Smith, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. No light clouds in sky.
India: S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson (Rawlinson's E.P. b)).

1 (a). Touched proof of same state. Same lettering, but no title, as lower margin is cut to within about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch of engraved surface.
Lights are scraped in the sky, the shadows on houses below cliff on extreme left are darkened with sepia, and another house is added on their right parallel with face of cliff; reflection added to figure in small boat; work on hulls, rigging, masts and reflections of two ships nearer centre, on Castle and its reflections, and on the foliage on hillsides and the houses on the right. Touches added on gateway, the boat at its side, and shadow of round tower on its left. The right foreground boat is darkened at its stern and side, the upper part of its mast and stern-sheet; a cast shadow is added to the mainsail of centre boat, and the nearest cask is darkened.
In the margin Turner has written: 'The hills are cover'd with Trees and brush-wood nearly to the water's edge and as high as the first line of Shadow. All above bare and grassy. Keep them therefore smooth, clear and light as to tone. From the Houses gardens slope down the bank inclosed with walls. Form of the Castle behind'. A pencil sketch of Dartmouth Castle appears on the reverse.
Plain: S. L. Courtauld, inscribed 'from W. B. C'.

2. Same lettering, with title. All alterations made in the touched proof are now engraved. *Plain:* A. Wallis.

2 (a). Touched proof of same state. Touches on roofs of houses on left, their reflections, and the bank above; a broad band drawn round hull of larger ship; touches on houses on hill on right, and shadows added to eaves of roof on house on quay on extreme right; ropes are added to the two masts in centre and the two on the right; the two mainsails are darkened and the small ladder in the foreground; two stones in foreground lightened and their shadows darkened. *Plain:* British Museum, inscribed: 'Touched by Turner, W. B. Cooke'. (Rawlinson's E.P.(a)).

3. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' and the title are removed. All alterations in touched proof are now engraved. *India:* G. B. Smith ex H. P. Horne.

3 (a). Touched proof of same state. The mainsail on left is darkened and lines of reflection are added; reflections added to ship on left; houses on left are darkened, and rock made to project above them.
Plain: S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson (Rawlinson's E.P. (c)).

4. Same lettering except that 'Engraved' is now added before 'by W. B. Cooke 1814', and the title, 'Dartmouth Devon', in Italic, is now placed on the right below the engraver's name.
The mainsail on left is still further darkened, and some reflections are added in the water below; the lights on roofs below bank on left are subdued, and a projecting piece of bank is added above the small rowing-boat; downstrokes are added to reflection of nearer ship on the left.
India: A. Wallis, and G. B. Smith; *Plain:* British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 165, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering:— DARTMOUTH, DEVONSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, June 1st. 1815. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. The right side of all letters in first line of title is thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with only one line of title. The worn-out plate has been reworked on water and distance.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE rock in the sea towards the right with waves breaking against it. A sailing vessel on the right beating against the wind. Distant cliffs on the left, with a vessel entering the Sound. Dark stormy sky above, and a heavy sea in front. The water-colour was exhibited at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857, and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, in 1871: it is now in the National Gallery of Ireland (Vaughan Bequest).
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{7}{8}$: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{5}{16}$ by $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. Esq. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke 1815.'; with title, 'The Mew Stone. Entrance of Plymouth Sound.' on the left.
Plain: Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 166, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'.
India: Tweedmouth 167, G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., S. L. Courtauld and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: THE MEW STONE, at the Entrance of Plymouth Sound, DEVONSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Feb. 1, 1816. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. The right side of all letters in first line of title are thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE town and harbour seen from a hill in the foreground, on which sailors and women are carousing. Pendennis Castle on a lofty promontory at the mouth of the harbour is in the middle-distance, with cliffs beyond on the left, and the open sea on the right. The bay contains a number of fishing boats.
The water-colour appeared at Christie's in March, 1910, and in May, 1918.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke 1815': with title on left, 'Falmouth. Cornwall'.
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 182, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, but 'Etched' is removed, and 'by W. B. Cooke 1815' is partly erased. *Plain:* A. Wallis ex H. P. Mellor.

2. 'Engraved by W. B. Cooke, 1816' is now added in Italic on the right.
India: Tweedmouth 183, A. Wallis, and G. B. Smith: *Plain:* Boston, Mass., S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: FALMOUTH HARBOUR, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 1, 1816.
India and *Plain.*
SECOND STATE. Right side of letters in first line of title thickened. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with only one line of title. The wrecked plate has been patched up in parts.

HUISH REPRINT. No lettering.

R.99 PLYMOUTH DOCK SEEN FROM MOUNT EDGCUMBE Part vii

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

VIEW from Mount Edgcumbe Park looking down on the Hamoaze, with Plymouth Dock,—now called Devonport—on the right, Torpoint, and Saltash in the distance on the left. The cliff on the horizon near the centre is Brentor. Many ships in the harbour seen through trees in the foreground; on the right of these trees, on a road leading down to the harbour, a party of sailors and women are singing and dancing. The sailor carrying a fiddle has a wooden leg.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822, and at the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1886 (Captain Meeking).
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{5}{16}$ by $9\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W:Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke, 1816'; with title on the left, 'Plymouth Dock from Mount Edgecumbe.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 172, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Foreground middle-distance engraved. *Plain:* Boston, Mass.

2. Same lettering, but 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. Touched.
Leaves added in pencil to lower branches of two central trees, foliage above darkened in parts, flags added on ships on left; many ships in harbour touched upon, also houses and distant landscape on right. A tree-trunk and some branches are added to the row of small trees on hill on right, and a figure; several sheep are scraped on the hillside; the shadow above foreground post is darkened; the ground on the extreme right and the trees above the two small figures are worked on with pencil and knife, and in the margin Turner has written: 'this part pray take out for it appears to look like the continuation of the wall, whereas it is a road in the direction of the lines' (diagram of a winding road). Above this in the margin Turner has made a slight drawing of the church in the town, in the middle-distance.
Plain: Tweedmouth 173, inscribed: 'from W.B.C.'

3. Same lettering. Touched.
All the corrections and additions in the previous touched proof are now engraved. Instructions written in the margins:—the upper half of the tree-trunk on the left is said to be 'too strong in tone, all above the pencil line make lighter'; the

vague forms in the engraving $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches from top margin, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ from the right, are said to be 'houses', and a pencil sketch is made to show how they should be defined; the forms to their right are said to be 'lines of Fortification', and another sketch shows how to define them; further comments are: 'line of Horizon—the distance and the sky more blended by the '(triangular) 'hill'; 'sheep too white'; 'can ~~you~~ make the Fiddle more distinct' (with a pencil sketch of a fiddle seen in profile); also, 'I will talk to you about *Hastings* when I return which will not *now* be long.' British Museum.
This proof must have been corrected at Farnley. It was folded and sent through the Post. Address on reverse:—'Mr W. B. Cooke, 12 York Place, Pentonville, London'; Post-mark, 'Otley. Sep. 14, 1816'.

4. Same lettering.
The fiddle is more defined, and all corrections indicated in the previous proof have been made.
India: Tweedmouth 174, G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., S. L. Courtauld; and one on *vellum,* A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: PLYMOUTH DOCK, (Seen from Mount Edgecumbe) DEVONSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Octr. 1, 1816. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. 'Plymouth Dock' in title altered to 'Devonport'. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with 'Devonport.' as title. Plate a complete wreck; sky on right re-worked.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

A copy of this plate was made by William Miller, in which the foreground tree on the left was omitted. The plate bears Miller's name and the date, 1820. On an impression once in Mr Rawlinson's collection Turner has written: 'A copy of my Plate by W. Miller of Edinburgh.' Miller came to London towards the end of 1819, and became a pupil of George Cooke for a year and a half. The copy was evidently made during this period.

R.100 PLYMOUTH, WITH MOUNT BATTEN Part viii

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

LOOKING down on Catwater from the heights near Turnchapel, with the round tower of Mount Batten on a promontory to the left, the Hoe opposite in the centre, and the town extending on the right. Shipping in harbour, and in the foreground soldiers with gleaners beside a cornfield.
The water-colour is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (William Smith Bequest).
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{15}{16}$: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{3}{8}$ by $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke 1817'; with title on left: 'Plymouth from Mount Batten'.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 170, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is removed. Touched. The church tower and steeple on extreme right, part of the fortifications in the centre, roof of the house and part of sail on boat below Mt. Batten, are blank. Pencil lines are drawn on hill below Mt. Batten, and there are sketches in the margins of 'Mount Batten' and 'Plymouth Church'. *India:* J. Hutchinson.

2. Same lettering. Before patches of light on hill to right of round tower; before lights on cornfield on left were toned down, and before smoke from building to right of citadel was added. *India:* A. Wallis ex Stokes.

3. Same lettering. Touched. The smoke and lights on hill are added, and the lights on the cornfield toned down. Touches in pencil, adding gables to light space among houses below right side of citadel, and defining details in houses on right; glimpse of sea on extreme right darkened, and reflections from cliffs added. *India:* A. Wallis.

4. Same lettering. Touches on previous proof engraved.
India: G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 171, A. Wallis, and S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: PLYMOUTH, With Mount Batten, from Turn Chapel, Looking over Catwater. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, May 1, 1817. *India* and P*lain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

LOOKING East along Falmouth Bay towards Pendennis Castle, which stands on the summit of cliff in the centre; beyond the castle there is a glimpse of St Mawes, and Zone Point is in the distance on the extreme right. In the foreground on the left men are dragging the mast of a wrecked ship up the cliffs. The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822, and in the Manchester exhibition in 1857. It was sold at Christie's in 1869 (Dillon collection). Plate-mark, 9¼ by 12⅛: Engraved Surface, 6¼ by 9⅜ inches.

ETCHING

Lettered in Italic: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; with title on the left: 'Pendennis Castle, and entrance of Falmouth Harbour'.

Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 184, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis. There is a touched impression of this etching in which the sea in the middle-distance, the ridge of rocks in the centre, and the rocks and men in the foreground, are darkened.

S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson. This is one of the two Engraver's Proofs referred to by Mr Rawlinson, vol. I, p. 54.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Nearly all the plate is engraved, but blank spaces remain on castle walls, houses below, and cliff on the right, as in the etching.

Plain: Tweedmouth 185, inscribed 'No. 1'.

2. Same lettering. All the Castle, the centre cliffs and those on the right are engraved, with additional work on the upper clouds and those on the left.

India: Tweedmouth 186, inscribed, 'No.2'.

2 (a). Touched proof of same state. A mass of spray scraped out above the rock in centre foreground on the right of the mast and figures.

India: H. A. Mummery ex John Pye.

3. Same lettering. Touched. The surf in the centre foreground is engraved, and the upper clouds darkened. The cliff on the left and strip of sea in middle-distance darkened with washes of Indian ink; the rocks in centre foreground above men with broken mast, and parts of upper cliff on left, are darkened, with touches on waves on right and on strip of rocks running into the sea; rocks in left lower corner darkened with pencil, and lower part of mast lightened with Chinese white; the dark clouds on top left are enlarged, and some jets of spray

added in white on waves below spar in middle-distance on right.
India: Tweedmouth 187, inscribed: 'Touched by Mr Turner June 7, 1817'. & '5'.

4. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. Touched.
The touches on previous proof are now engraved.
Light clouds are scraped above the cliffs on the right, on the extreme right near the top, and near the top centre; lights on the waves below the spar in middle-distance are scraped, and towards the centre; touches on the ledge of rocks and on the waves below and above; also on hillside below Castle; the rocks in foreground on left of the mast are marked for cross-hatching. Below is written: 'mast and jacket lighter.'
India: Tweedmouth 189, inscribed: 'Touched by Mr Turner June 23 17', & '7'.

5. Same lettering. Touched.
The rocks in left foreground marked for darkening in previous proof have thick cross-lines engraved upon them; the mast and jacket of nearest man are lightened, and all other corrections engraved.
Touched on rock for further darkening; lights scraped on lower part of hill in centre below Castle, and a pencil line drawn across distant hills above ship entering harbour; the spray rising above rock on left of mast, is enlarged by scraping. *India:* Tweedmouth 188, inscribed: 'Cornwall. June 17. 1817'.

6. Same lettering. The touches on previous proof are now engraved; the distant hills above the pencil line have been lightened, thus separating them from those below. *India:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

6 (a). Touched proof of same state.
Touched for darkening the sky in top left corner. The spar projecting above the waves at the end of the ridge of rocks on the right, which appeared in the etching and has been more or less visible in all the proofs, is now enlarged by scraping. Turner has written in the margin: 'Horizontal line of light at the entrance of the Harbour, and the uppermost left corner, one tone darker—the whole of it down to the white gull—then it will do. Band continues round the Castle in Shadow.'
India: Tweedmouth 190, inscribed: 'Touched by Mr. Turner July 2. 1817.' & '8'.

7. Same lettering. The spar is enlarged and lightened, and the sky in the upper left corner is darkened.
Plain: Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 191, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: PENDENNIS CASTLE and entrance of FALMOUTH HARBOUR, CORNWALL. Drawn by I. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, May 1. 1817. *India* and P*lain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Same lettering, but publication line removed. Plate much worn. P*lain.*

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Pendennis Castle.' (in open capitals) 'With Entrance of Falmouth Harbour' (second line, in small Roman capitals); 'J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Delt.' and G. Cooke, Sculpt.' (in Roman capitals): publication line, 'London; Virtue & Co. Limited' (in Roman capitals). All lower part of sky, the Castle hill, and the cliffs beyond on the right, have been re-worked. Quite worthless.

HUISH REPRINT. 1891. All lettering removed. Still more repairs.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE ruined Castle high up on the right, with cliffs sloping to the sea on the left. Quarrymen are hewing stones in the foreground on the right.
The water-colour was exhibited at Cooke's gallery in 1822; it was at one time in the collection of Mr G. R. Burnett, and was exhibited in Agnew's gallery in 1912.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

With Italic lettering: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B Cooke.'; with title on the left, 'Bow & Arrow Castle Isle of Portland'.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Tweedmouth 139, G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'.
India: G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 140, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: BOW AND ARROW CASTLE, ISLE OF PORTLAND, DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, May 1, 1817. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Sky badly worn.
TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.
HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed. Repairs in sky.

R.103 MARTELLO TOWERS at BEXHILL Part viii
A Vignette

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

LOOKING along the sea-shore with chalk cliffs on the right, and the sea on left with a line of Martello towers extending along the coast. Two soldiers on horseback are riding up the road in the centre; nearer the foreground there is a group of country folk with an ass and panniers.
From the mezzotint in 'Liber Studiorum' engraved by W. Say. The design seems to have lost all its romance by being transposed into a different medium.
Plate-mark, 6 by 8⅜ : Engraved Surface, 7 by 4¾ inches.

ETCHING
Italic lettering: 'From Turner's Liber Studiorum 1817' (on the left); 'Martello Towers at Bexhill' (below), 'W. B. Cooke fecit' (on the right).
Plain: British Museum, Tweedmouth 55, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
1. Same lettering. Before sea and sky were finished. British Museum.

2. Same lettering. Completed.
India: Tweedmouth 56, G. B. Smith, and S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Mass.

PUBLISHED STATE
FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: 'Engraved by W. B. Cooke, by permission of J. M. W. Turner, R.A. from his Work of Liber Studiorum.' (Roman, upper and lower case, in one line); 'London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, May 1, 1817.' (in Italic). *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS
NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed, with 'Martello Towers,' and 'Bexhill.' engraved in large Italic, obliquely on left and right of plate. Plate worn. *India.*

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

LOOKING down on the mouth of the river, with East Looe on the left, West Looe on the right, and the long bridge of fifteen arches which connects the two towns. A drummer and a woman nursing a baby are seated on the cliff in the left foreground. Rough seas and a stretch of cliffs are seen outside the harbour. The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1823; it appeared at Christie's in 1891, was exhibited at the Manchester Whitworth Institute, 1912, and is now in the Manchester Art Gallery, James J. Blair Bequest.
Plate-mark, 9 by 11 $\frac{13}{16}$: Engraved Surface, 6 $\frac{3}{16}$ by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering, with title on the left: 'Drawn by J M W Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke. 1818'; 'East & West Looe. Cornwall'.
Plain: Boston, Mass., British Museum, Tweedmouth 178, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson, and A. Wallis.
(The Engraver's Proof described by Mr Rawlinson is the etching which was in his possession).

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'.
India: G. B. Smith, A. Wallis, S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 179, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: EAST AND WEST LOOE, CORNWALL. Drawn by I. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London; Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, July 1st. 1818.
India and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn, sky gone.
TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.
HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed. Repairs in sky.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

A STORMY sea in front breaking against steep rocky cliffs on the left. Figures on the top of the cliffs are watching a ship being dashed to pieces on the rocks below. Only the bow and masts of the vessel are seen above the waves, and there are men in its rigging. The town of Ilfracombe with its harbour is seen in the distance on the right.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, 6¼ by 9½ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering, with title on left: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke. 1818.'; 'Ilfracombe North Devon'. The large rock in foreground, below the wreck, is not covered by waves. *Plain:* British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 218, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. The rock in foreground has been erased. Its place is blank.
Plain: British Museum.

2. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' has been altered to 'Engraved'. Touched. The blank space is now engraved, showing waves breaking over the rock. Touched on waves, and on ship, altering the slope of the foremast, and adding rigging. *Plain:* British Museum.

3. Same lettering. The mast is altered and rigging is added.
India: G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 219.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE: Engraved lettering: ILFRACOMB, NORTH DEVON. Drawn by I. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London, Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, July 1, 1818. *India* and *Plain*.

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate very much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with only one line of title. Plate reworked in parts; disgracefully bad.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

RUINS of castle on summit of tall promontory on the right, separated by a chasm from the mainland on the left. The sea dashes against the foot of the cliff, in the foreground on the left men are working a windlass.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822; it was afterwards in the collections of Robinson, Dell, and Fairfax Murray.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{3}{8}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

ETCHING
Italic lettering: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; no title.
India: Boston, Mass.; *Plain:* British Museum, Tweedmouth 208, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
1. Same lettering. All the plate is engraved except those parts of the castle,—the centre and the tower on the left—which were left blank in the etching. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 209, inscribed in pencil: 'first proof after Etching. July. 1818.'

2. Same lettering. Blank spaces on castle and tower now engraved; lower part of cliffs darkened.
India: Tweedmouth 210, inscribed: 'Second Proof from Etching.'

2 (a). Touched proof of same state.
Prow of boat straightened and stern altered in pencil; touched in Chinese white and pencil on cliffs and clouds; high lights scraped on wheels and figures in foreground. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 211, inscribed: '1st July 1818'. and 'Touched by Mr Turner. July 8. 1818.'

3. Same lettering. Touched.
The prow and stern of boat are altered, and all other revisions are engraved. Lights scraped on tower in top left, on cliffs below, on cliffs above boat, and on the extreme right; the brickwork below windlass is lightened, and on the left, darkened; clouds outlined in lower part of sky between cliffs.
Written on lower margin: 'Wm. J. Cooke took this Plate to Mr T. & obtained his remarks'. These are written in pencil in the margins near the parts referred to. The tower on the left is 'To be rounded'; 'These patches are too spotty'—referring to the markings on top of cliffs below the tower; the brickwork below windlass is to be 'a little darker' on the left, and 'not quite so light' on the right; referring to the spray at foot of cliffs about 2 inches from the right border—'This

Mr Turner thinks is a bad bit but might come better with a little burnishing'; against the line of cliffs on the extreme right—'this line not so hard', and higher on the cliffs—'These touches like the other proof'; below margin in centre: 'at twelve o'clock on Monday'.
India: Tweedmouth 212, inscribed: '2nd touches July 1818'.

4. Same lettering. Touched.
Tower on left is rounded, and other alterations engraved.
Outlines of clouds between cliffs touched for softening; clouds in upper centre rounded; shadow on cliff on left of boat marked for removal.
India: Tweedmouth 213, inscribed: 'Touched. 3rd. July 20. 1818'.

5. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'.
The shadow of boat on left is removed; clouds in upper centre rounded, and those on left between cliffs are softened.
India: G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Tweedmouth 214 & 215.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: TINTAGEL CASTLE, CORNWALL. Drawn by I. M. W. Turner. R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London, Published July 1, 1818, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.
India and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with only one line of title. Plate still more worn.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

LOOKING down from cliffs in the foreground on the small town on the left with its curved breakwater and rows of stakes along the shore. High rocky promontories behind the town with the sea on the right. On the cliffs in front and on the sands below nets are being dried.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1822; it was in E. W. Cooke's sale at Christie's in 1880.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING
Artists' names in Italic, no title: 'Drawn by J, M,W, Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke.' The right side of the sky is blank, and there are no distant cliffs above the sea.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 226 & 227, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
1. Same lettering. Sky and distant cliffs filled in; small blank spaces still left on horizon, quay, houses, and path on left.
Plain: Tweedmouth 228, inscribed: 'Second Proof Mar. 1820'.

2. Same lettering. Blank spaces on quay, horizon, etc., filled in. The Plate is still mainly in the etched state, but there is some burin-work in the foreground. The effect is delicate and very charming; much finer than any photographic reproduction of the original drawing could be.
Plain: Tweedmouth 229, inscribed: 'third Proof March 21. 1820'.

3. 'Etched by George Cooke' is now removed. The foreground, sea and hills on left, are strengthened, and the lights in sky on right emphasized.
Plain: Tweedmouth 231.

4. 'Engraved by George Cooke' is added in Italic on the right.
Additional work on light objects in foreground—woman's headdress, sleeve, and drapery at men's feet. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 230.

4(a). Touched proof of the same state.
The sea is darkened in the middle-distance, and two ships added on the right; stakes at the foot of cliff on left increased from five to nine; man's figure introduced in lower left spreading nets, and the number of nets increased; pencil touches on houses, on ground above them, on woman in foreground, and on stakes and their reflections on the right; lights scraped on sky on the right, on cliffs and water above harbour in centre, on linen on ground and figures on the

left, on waves above and below the stakes on the right; the path above the village is continued.
Turner is dissatisfied with the right lower corner. He has written in the margin at its side: 'If all the piece, No. 1,' (i.e. the upper bank) 'could be made like grass thus' (lines indicative of grass) 'then No. 2' (i.e. the lower portion of the bank) 'would by a cross line soon become a net, which the present corner being all Lines prevents. N.B. The corner proposed' (drawing of corner as it is to be altered; over one part is written, 'present lines to remain', over another part, 'cross proposed') '—and do not be afraid *in the front part of the* Net of COARSE WORK, for the mesh of the net and corks ought to be seen.' *India:* Tweedmouth 232.

5. Same lettering. The right lower corner has been altered. The upper bank is covered with grass, the lower portion has netting spread over it. Man added on left, and all other instructions are attended to.
India: Tweedmouth 233, inscribed: 'not quite finished—after Mr Turner's first touches. Ap. 1820.'

6. Same lettering, with title added in centre: 'Watchet' (in sloping capitals) and 'Somersetshire' (below, in Italic).
Added work on upper part of netting in right corner, and spaces between the coarse lines below filled in. The lights in the sky are strengthened.
India: Boston, Mass., G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Tweedmouth 234.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: WATCHET, SOMERSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London, Published April 1, 1820, by John Murray, Albemarle Street. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. Lines inserted within the thicker members of all letters in the two lines of title. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn, sky and distance re-engraved.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with only one line of title. The plate a wreck; further re-work on distance.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE sea which fills all the foreground is breaking on the shore on the left below steep high cliffs. The worst of the storm is over, but the nearer waves are tossing in sullen masses, and those beyond roll and plunge against the shore, while the cliffs above seem to rear themselves in stern defiance of the winds and waves. On the shore on the left a crowd of small figures are hauling at a cable which is attached to a brig in difficulties on the right.
The water-colour is in the Bury Art Gallery (Wrigley Donation). In it the base of the nearest cliff comes below the top of the rocks in the sea in the lower left corner, so that the expanse of sand between them is not shown. The continuation of the sand to the extreme left above the foreground rocks, and the addition of the running figure upon it, which appear in the engraving, were made by Turner while the plate was being engraved.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering: 'Drawn by J M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke. 1820.'; with title on the left, 'Bridport Dorsetshire'. The stretch of sand is not continued on the extreme left.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 141, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.
A touched impression with the sails and rigging of the ship on the right added in pencil: J. Hutchinson.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Touched. Strip of sand above foreground rock on left is now etched, the position of a running figure is indicated by scraping, and the figure is drawn in pencil in the margin. Cable is added to the ship in pencil. A note in the margin referring to lines in the sky on the right: 'Too much like string, not rain, they must be filled up so that they may be lost in one tone'; also, 'Mind the pencil marks in the Sky'. In lower corner of margin: 'From W. B. C.'
India: Boston, Mass. ex F. Bullard.

2. Same lettering, but 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. The running figure on the sand on the extreme left is now engraved; cable engraved, and all instruction on previous proof carried out.
India: G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 142, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis. An impression on *vellum:* A. J. Finberg.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: BRIDPORT. DORSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London, Published April 1, 1820, by John Murray, Albemarle Street. With 'Proof' in Italic on the right. *India* and P*lain*.

SECOND STATE. 'Proof' removed, and a single line inserted within the thicker members of all letters in the two lines of title. P*lain*.

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Bridport.' (in open upright capitals), 'J. M. W. Turner. R.A. Delt.'; 'W. B. Cooke. Sculpt.' 'London: Virtue & Co, Limited' (in slender upright capitals). Plate still more worn.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

R.109 ENTRANCE of FOWEY HARBOUR Part x

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

THE Harbour is at the mouth of the river Fowey, the view is looking from the river towards the English Channel. Massive square towers on promontories on either side of the river; a brig in middle-distance entering the harbour, a fishing boat with sail lowered nearer the foreground. In the foreground a number of rocks with surging waves and jets of spray.
The water-colour was exhibited in Cooke's Gallery in 1824. It has been in the collections of Charles Stokes, J. E. Fordham, and A. H. Campbell. According to Mr Rawlinson it was in the possession of Mr E. Atkinson in 1908.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved Surface, $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $9\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by W. B. Cooke. 1820'; with title on the left, 'Fowey, Cornwall'.
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth, 180, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. Touched. Before any light clouds in centre of sky on right. *Plain:* British Museum.

2. Same lettering. Some light clouds added in centre and on right of sky, and surf added at foot of cliffs in middle-distance. Before ropes supporting sail on boat on left. *India:* A. Wallis ex H. P. Mellor.

3. Same lettering. Touched.
Touched for additional light clouds in lower right; ropes added to mast of sailing-boat and rigging added to ship; lights scraped on waves near foreground, surf enlarged in middle-distance, and lines of spray added on rocks right in foreground. British Museum. (cut down).

4. Same lettering. Ropes and rigging added, additional streams of spray on rocks, and all other touchings engraved.
India: G. B. Smith, C. Mallord W. Turner, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 181, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: ENTRANCE OF FOWEY HARBOUR, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London, Published April 1, 1820, by John Murray, Albemarle Street. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. A single line is inserted in the thicker members of all letters in the two lines of title. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Entrance of Fowey Harbour' (in upright open capitals), 'J. M. W. Turner. R. A. Delt.'; 'W. B. Cooke, Sculpt.'; and 'London: Virtue & Co. Limited' (in slender upright capitals). Plate still more worn; the sky and other light parts have been re-worked.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

THE Castle—which was then the seat of Thomas Weld, Esq.—is on the right in the middle-distance behind trees, with the church and village in the centre; there are wooded hills beyond. Several trees springing from the side of a pool in the left foreground rise to the top of the design; some cattle are standing in the pool, and a reclining figure in a smock in the centre foreground holds a fishing rod. A tramp stands beside him carrying a bundle on one shoulder and pointing with outstretched arm towards the distant village. The pool flows through a culvert into a stream which runs diagonally from the extreme right towards the village near the centre; there are sheep on the meadow beyond the stream.

The water-colour drawing was in the Dillon collection (Christie's, 1869), Grant Morris's (Chr. 1898) and G. R. Burnett's (Chr. 1908).

Plate-mark, 10 by 13: Engraved surface, $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Artists' names in Italic, no title: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner. RA.'; 'Etched by George Cooke.'

Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 125, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. All the plate is engraved. The effect is dreamy and very sweet.

India: Tweedmouth 126, inscribed: 'Third Proof'.

2. Same lettering. Touched. Fine cross-lines are engraved over parts of the sky, and the clouds are darkened.

Lights are scraped on the hill above the Castle, on the side of the church, on the white cow, and on the water in left foreground; some boughs of trees are added in pencil on the left, the second cow is darkened, and reflections are added in the water; touches on shadow of standing man, arch of culvert, the trees in middle-distance, distant hills, and clouds.

India: Tweedmouth 127, inscribed 'First touched Proof by Mr Turner Decr 1820'.

3. Same lettering. Row of trees added in front of Castle, and lights on the trees behind; boughs added to trees, and all other markings on the previous proof are now engraved.

India: Tweedmouth 128, inscribed, 'Unfin'd G. C.', also Tweedmouth 129, and H. A. Mummery.

3 (a). Touched proof of the same state. Inscribed: 'Second touched Proof by Mr Turner Jan 9: 1821.'
Scraped for enlarging light in sky in centre, the distant hills darkened, and smoke scraped below; the light on stream below the church is enlarged, figures are added on the left, and another path leading in the direction of the smoke is scraped on the left. Sheep are added on the meadow below the church, the tree above the white cow and the upper leaves on the small branches on its left are darkened, and lights are added on the white cow and above the dark one; the peg in the foreground, and the ground near it & above the culvert are darkened.
India: Tweedmouth 130.

4. Same lettering, but '1820' is added on the right immediately below Cooke's name. The smoke, figures in middle-distance, sheep, and all other alterations marked on the previous proof are now engraved.
India: Tweedmouth 132, inscribed: 'not quite finished. G. C.'

5. Same lettering. The sheep in the meadow on the right are now toned down.
India: A. Wallis ex W. G. Rawlinson, G. B. Smith, and S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 131, and A. A. Allen.

6. Intermediate between completed engraver's proofs and the first published state. The Italic lettering is removed, the artists' names are engraved in upper and lower case Roman, but before title and publication line.
India: A. Wallis ex W. G. Rawlinson, and A. A. Allen.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: LULWORTH CASTLE DORSET-SHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London, Published Jan. 1, 1821, by J. and A. Arch, Cornhill. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with Virtue's publication line, etc. Plate still more worn. The sky and distant hills re-worked.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

A MORNING scene, soon after sunrise (not a sunset, as some critics have assumed). Looking across the Bay, with an extensive range of coast to the East. In the foreground women are spreading linen on a hill, which looks down on Brixham harbour on the left. The fishing boats are coming in.
The water-colour was exhibited at Cooke's gallery in 1822; it was lent to the Old Masters exhibition at the R. A., in 1886, by Mr S. G. Holland.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved surface, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. No lettering. The left half of sky is covered with clouds.
Plain: British Museum, and Boston, Mass.

2. Italic lettering, with title in centre: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etching—W. B. Cooke.'; 'Torbay from Brixham.'
Plain: British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 159, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Touched. The sun and rays above it are scratched out; also lights on sails of ship at the quay. The figure on the right is darkened, and rigging is added on ships in the harbour in the lower left corner. British Museum.

2. Same lettering, except that 'Etching—' is altered to 'Engraved by.' Rigging is added on ships in left corner, and the other touches are engraved.
India: G. B. Smith ex H. P. Horne.

2(a). A touched proof of the same state.
Figure on path above quay, and a distant sail on the left, are added; light clouds are scraped and outlined with pencil above sun, and some clouds below are drawn. A cross above the small island in the distance on the extreme right draws attention to remark in margin: 'Island too strong in tone'. Two crosses are drawn over the sky in the top left, and in the margin is written: 'The sky is too dark. If you can make it lighter the whole will look better.—Be so good as to send the note to your Brother.' *India:* Tweedmouth 160.

3. Same lettering. Figure on path and distant sail engraved; the distant island is lightened. *India* and *Plain*. In three proofs I have seen a gap in the dark bar of cloud below the sun has been filled in with pencil lines; these are Tweedmouth 161, G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis. In another proof, from Mr Wallis's collection, there are also pencil lines on the second lower bar of clouds. Another, in Dr Bellingham Smith's collection, is without any pencil lines.

4. Same lettering. These lines are now engraved.
India: British Museum, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass.

PUBLISHED STATES

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: TORBAY FROM BRIXHAM. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London, Published Jany. 1, 1821, by J. & A. Arch, Cornhill. *India* and *Plain.*

SECOND STATE. A line is inserted within the thicker members of all letters in the title. *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered. Title in open upright capitals; 'J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Delt.'—'W. B. Cooke, Sculpt' and Virtue's publication line, in slender Roman capitals. Plate still more worn; sky partly re-worked.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. COOKE

IN the foreground two sailors are seated on high ground overlooking the bay which occupies the centre of the design. Minehead is on the farther side of the bay, and Dunster Castle on a steep hill behind it on the left.
The water-colour, which is said to be a good deal faded, was once in the collection of the late Mr F. Stevenson. It was exhibited in Messrs. Agnew's gallery in 1903.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{15}{16}$: Engraved surface, $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Without any lettering. *Plain:* British Museum.

2. Italic lettering, with title in centre: 'J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched W. B. Cooke 1820.'; 'Minehead Somersetshire.'
Plain: Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 224, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Sky completed and engraving well advanced, but without dog and figures in middle-distance. *Plain:* G. B. Smith ex Theobald.

2. Same lettering. Tower on hill and Castle darkened; heavily bitten lines added on hills and on foliage below in centre; white clouds added on left and in upper sky. *India:* G. B. Smith ex H. P. Horne.

3. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved.' White dog added in foreground, and three figures, two on horseback, in middle-distance. *India:* G. B. Smith; *Plain:* Boston. Mass., Tweedmouth 225, S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: MINEHEAD and Dunster Castle SOMERSETSHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by W. B. Cooke. London, Published Jany. 1, 1821, by J. & A. Arch, Cornhill. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Minehead and Dunster Castle.' (in one line); artists' names and publication line as before.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

LOOKING across the bay from the Westbrook end, towards the pier and harbour. In the foreground a number of men are hauling wreckage, & on the left is the hull of a wrecked vessel. Across the bay on the left is the pier, with white cliffs beyond, the harbour is in the centre with the brewery above it, and the town extends on the right. The tower of Trinity Church which most Londoners would expect to see on the left of the brewery was not then built. A ship is aground in the centre of the bay on the right.
The drawing was exhibited in Cooke's gallery in 1824, and in Agnew's gallery in 1913 and 1924.
Plate-mark, $9\frac{1}{8}$ by 12 $\frac{1}{16}$: Engraved surface, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Italic lettering, with title in centre: 'Drawn by J. M, W, Turner. RA.'; 'Etched by George Cooke 1822'; 'Margate'.
India: Boston, Mass.; *Plain:* Tweedmouth 6, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

1 (a). A touched impression of the same state. Pencil sketches in margin, 'Bathing Houses,' 'Sand', 'Chalk Cliff,' 'Hubbard's'(?), and touches on cliff on right. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 7.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. The sea in middle-distance, lower part of sky, and parts of foreground, are engraved; the lines on the wreckage on the left are thickened. *Plain:* A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering. The wreckage further strengthened, and waves in foreground and above the figures worked on; a white space now appears on the cliffs on the right where the work in the touched etching has been erased.
India: A. Wallis, inscribed: '2nd Proof Sep 1823.'

3. Same lettering. Foreground and waves on left strengthened. Tweedmouth 8.

4. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved.' The town, cliffs and all the sky are now engraved. The building on the sky-line on the right is now altered in accordance with the pencil sketch in margin of the touched etching. *India:* A. A. Allen.

5. Same lettering. Additional work on sky, left foreground, etc.; fine cross-hatching added over lower part of sky and on darker parts of clouds on left and right. *Plain:* Tweedmouth 12, and H. A. Mummery.

5 (a). Touched impression of the same state. Pencil touches on lower part of sky on left, on water in bay to left of ship, on waves in foreground, parts of wreckage and foreground figure near the centre; also on horses and cart on the right, on the harbour and boats inside it, and on the brewery in centre above the harbour. A drawing of this building in pencil is added in the margin.
India: Tweedmouth 9, inscribed: 'touched by Mr Turner Decr. 4. 1823.

6. Same lettering, but date after engraver's name is altered to '1823'. The brewery is enlarged and altered, all touchings on previous proof are now engraved.
Plain: Tweedmouth 13.

6 (a). Touched impression of the same state. Touched for darkening wreckage and waves below it, the legs and reflection of centre figure, parts of two foreground figures on the right, the waves on their right, and shadows on the sail and tackle on their left; lights scraped below the sails and tackle. Turner has written in the lower margin: 'It requires two lines ploughed into one about the wreck to give distinctness to the vessel in the direction of its hull' (diagram) 'and side towards the bottom' (diagram) 'and not straight like X' (referring to another cross placed on two of the upper planks on the right of the wreck). 'You had better send me another proof because of the sky.'
India: Tweedmouth 12, inscribed: 'touched by Mr Turner Decr. 12, 1823.'

7. Same lettering. The wreck, waves, figures, etc., darkened in accordance with the touched proof. *India:* C. M. W. Turner, A. Wallis; *Plain:* A. Wallis.

7 (a). Touched impression of the same state. Touched on parts of wreckage on left and nearest figure on the right; scraped for lights in sky above and to left of brewery, on sand in centre of foreground, and for lightening part of sky on extreme left. Written in pencil on lower margin: 'The lines on the Hull appear too plain and equal. Put two into one, that is, each two alternately' (diagram) 'thus. Clear the sky and the distant sea to the right and I think it will do.—without sending again, without you are sending this way.'
India: Tweedmouth 11, inscribed: 'touched by Mr Turner Decr. 26th, 1823.'

8. Same lettering. Wreck darkened according to instructions in previous proof; lights added in sky above and to left of brewery, on sand in centre of foreground, and the clouds lightened on the extreme left.
India: A. Wallis, S. L. Courtauld; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: MARGATE, KENT. Drawn by I. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke. London, Published by John & Arthur Arch, Cornhill February 1824. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS. As before.

ENGRAVED BY EDWARD GOODALL

THE town on the left on a hill in the middle-distance, with Camber Castle on its right in the centre. A causeway leading towards Winchelsea runs from Rye out of the left of the design. A sudden inrush of the sea has overwhelmed some men who are repairing (or constructing?) the causeway. Some of these men are in the water in the foreground, with planks of wood and tools around them. The driver of a waggon with two horses is hurrying forward in the foreground on the left, and a number of men in the middle-distance are running towards the town.

The water-colour, which was once in Mr Bale's collection, was lent by Mr S. G. Holland to the Old Masters' Exhibition at the R.A. in 1886.

Plate-mark, 9¾ by 12⅛: Engraved surface, 5⅞ by 9⅛ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering, no title: 'Drawn by J M W Turner RA'; 'Etched by Edwd,, Goodall.'

India: Boston Mass., G. B. Smith, and A. Wallis (from the Turner sale).

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. All the plate is engraved except the town, which is in the etched state. *India:* C. M. W. Turner.

2. Same lettering. Town and sky nearly completed. *Plain:* S. L. Courtauld.

2 (a). Touched impression of same state. Touched for darkening pieces of wood in foreground and waves above workmen. *India:* C. M. W. Turner.

3. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. The waves above workmen and in centre are darkened, the ruts in the causeway are more clearly defined, and the dark storm cloud near the top centre is continued so as to touch the lighter clouds on its left; various lights are added in the sky and the shadows in the foreground are strengthened; the light cloud on the extreme right and the lights on the clouds above the distant tower are subdued.

India and *Plain:* British Museum, Boston, Mass., C. M. W. Turner, Tweedmouth 48, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering, with a line inside the thicker members of all letters in both lines of title: RYE, SUSSEX. J. M. W. Turner R.A. Delt. Edwd Goodall Sculpt. London: Published by J and A. Arch, Cornhill, March 1824. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS. As before.

ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM MILLER

THE bay is in the centre in the middle-distance, with high cliffs on the left, and Lundy Island in the distance on the extreme right. Several donkeys with panniers are on part of the cliffs in the foreground on the left; farther in the picture we look down on what may be lime-kilns; some boats are drawn up on the beach beside them, and figures with donkeys are coming from them in the centre foreground.

This is a superb piece of engraving. Miller was paid £47 5s. for it, and it seems to have been the first plate which he engraved for Turner. He had been a pupil of W. B. Cooke, of whose plate of 'Plymouth Dock' (R.99) he had made an excellent copy.

The water-colour is in the National Gallery of Ireland (Vaughan Bequest).

Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by 12: Engraved surface, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

No lettering. *India:* British Museum, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. No lettering. All the plate is engraved. *India:* Boston, Mass.

1 (a). Touched impression of same state. Pencil touches on the upper parts of cliffs in middle-distance indicative of foliage; touches also on foreshore with boats on left of the village; the lower part of the sails on ship in centre is darkened; the foresail of the boat on the beach below the ship is also darkened, also two figures standing on the kilns, the drapery of woman riding in right foreground, and part of the cliff in front of her. The prow of the second boat on the beach is enlarged; parts of the shadows on the rocks on the left are strengthened, also the shadow cast by the foreground donkey; this animal's muzzle is enlarged, and there are touches on the other animals and the man on its left. Lights are scraped on the sky in the centre and on waves in right lower corner. A cross is drawn over the far point of the cliffs in middle-distance, and Turner has written in the margin: 'Mr Miller, Soften down the edge of your Clouds generally between the shadows and half tones, and, as a word of advice, aim at softness or unity of the tones a little more. The rocky bank above and east side of the Town and to the point X' (i.e. marked with a cross), ' thick wood down to the edge of'(? 'shelving' or 'shading') 'lines, below all precipices to the sea. Town and foreground being the only places to land at: Lundy Island too high; make the lights in the clouds (scratched out) brilliant. Sir, I must request you to send me an Etching and two India and two plain proofs (my compliment from the Engr.) and let me have them when it suits your convenience. J. M. W. T.'

India: S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.
(This proof was forwarded by the engraver to Messrs. Arch on 31st of January, 1824, with a covering letter which is now in the possession of Mr C. M. W. Turner.)

2. No lettering. The upper parts of the cliffs in middle-distance are now wooded, the tones on clouds on the right are more united, the base of Lundy Island is less clearly defined, the prow of the boat on the beach is enlarged, and all other corrections in the previous proof are attended to.
India: A. Wallis ex W. G. Rawlinson.

3. Italic lettering, with title on the right: 'J. M. W. Turner R.A, delt.'; 'William Miller Sculpt. 1824';'Clovelly Bay and Lundy Island.' The markings on the foreshore in bay to left of town are strengthened. (I believe there are several more slight alterations, as on the darks in foreground cliffs, but Miller's work is so delicate that I cannot be sure.)
India: G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 217, S. L. Courtauld, and A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering, with a line inserted in the thicker members of each letter in the two lines of title: CLOVELLY BAY, SOMERSETSHIRE. J. M. W. Turner R.A. Delt. William Miller Scupt. London; Published by J and A. Arch, Cornhill, March 1824.
(Note. Clovelly is in Devonshire, not in Somersetshire.) *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with one line of title, and Virtue's publication line. Plate still more worn; the ruined sky has been touched up.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed. Sky, etc., re-engraved.

ENGRAVED BY J. C. ALLEN

THE foreground is strewn with pilchards which are being shovelled into baskets. The town and harbour are on the right, beyond, in the centre, is the Castle of St. Mawes, and on the left, on the other side of the entrance to Carreg Road, stands Pendennis Castle.
The water-colour, which was once in the collection of F. Stevenson, was exhibited in Agnew's gallery in 1903.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved surface, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

Italic lettering, without title: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by J. C. Allen'.
India: Boston, Mass.; *Plain:* British Museum, Tweedmouth 192, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, and A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, but 'Etched' altered to 'Engraved'.
India: C. M. W. Turner, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering, with title added in centre in two lines: 'St. Mawes, Cornwall.' Mr Rawlinson says that the 'fishing-boat to left and sea adjacent' are darker in this proof than in no. 1, but I am not sure that the difference is in the engraving, and not merely in the printing.
India: G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 193, and G. B. Smith.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: St. MAWES, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by J. C. Allen. London: Published by John & Arthur Arch, Cornhill, September, 1824. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY ROBERT WALLIS

ROUGH sea in front, with entrance to harbour on the left. The lighthouse at the head of the West pier is on the extreme left, the end of the East pier is in the centre, with buildings on the cliff above.
The water-colour was sold at Christie's in 1875 (Levy Collection).
Plate-mark, 9½ by 12 3/16 : Engraved surface, 6 by 9½ inches.

ETCHING

No lettering. *India:* British Museum, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. No lettering. Touched. The rain clouds on the right are darkened, the left side of wave in front of foreground boat is reduced in size, with touches on boat, the men in it, the sails on the left, ships within the harbour, the pier and houses above it, the water below ship on the right, the buoy and foreground waves; lights are scraped on the waves on the right. *India:* C. M. W. Turner.

2. No lettering. Touches on first proof engraved. *India:* C. M. W. Turner.

3. No lettering. The lights on foreground waves are enlarged. *India:* A. Wallis.

4. Artists' names in slender Roman capitals: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.'; 'Engraved by Robert Wallis.'; with title in large Italic on the right: 'Ramsgate'.
High lights are added on top and side of lighthouse, and on top of nearest mast; the light on the pier below is subdued; lights are added on figures on the pier in the centre, on cliffs and houses above it, on boat and sails inside the harbour, and on the sea in middle-distance and foreground.
India: British Museum, C. M. W. Turner, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 14.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Artists' names as before, but title is now engraved, in two lines of open capitals: RAMSGATE, KENT. ; with publication line below in Italic: 'London, Published by John & Arthur Arch, Cornhill, Decr. 20th, 1824.' *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Ramsgate.' etc.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

ON high ground looking down on the barracks and parade ground in the centre, with the town beyond and the church above. High cliffs on the left and the line of the sea stretches from the church across the right-hand half of the design. Troops are drilling on the parade ground, and a party of soldiers with baggage waggons are marching up the hill towards the left. A sentry stands on the ground in front on the left: there is a cannon on the right with tall dark trees above it. Mellow, late afternoon effect.
The water-colour appeared in Christie's in 1862, 1896, and 1919.
Plate-mark, 9½ by 12¼: Engraved surface, 5 15/16 by 9 3/16 inches.

ETCHING

1. Italic lettering, with title on left: 'Drawn by J. M. W, Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke. 1824.'; 'Hythe. Kent.'
India: Boston, Mass.; *Plain:* British Museum, Tweedmouth 35, G. B. Smith, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

2. Same lettering. Additional work on sea above houses in centre, and on distant clump of trees on right. *India:* Boston, Mass.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. All the subject engraved except the sky and some herbage in foreground, which are in the etched state.
Plain: S. L. Courtauld, with 'No. 2' written in margin; *India:* Tweedmouth 36, inscribed: '3rd Proof' and 'proved Hayward Oct 28—24.'

2. Same lettering. The sky is engraved, with additional work on waves and lights on water; several ships are suggested in the distance. (The general effect is rather shadowy, but it is a very sweet translation of the original drawing.)
India: Tweedmouth 37; in corner in pencil, '4'.

2(a). Touched impression of same state. Touched in pencil on shako, neck and shoulder of foreground sentry, on trees behind the barracks, and on gun-carriage and trees in right foreground; lights are scraped on the sea and on the canal above the gun. Written in margin: 'Messrs. Arch having desired this to be returned by the Post folding therefore must be the case, but I hope you will see the remarks, but I shall be in town in the course of the week, so let me see another proof, because of the sky—which I have not touched upon because I want you to say if it can be burnished—lighter in tone—*with safety,* thus' (diagram of sun with circles round it—the idea being to graduate the light of the sky towards the sun behind the mass of dark foliage on the right). 'P.S. You ask me for my

opinion. First I shall say in general *very good,* secondly the Figures and Barracks excellent; but I think you have cut up the Bank called Shorne Cliff too much with the graver by Lines' (diagram) 'which are equal in strength and width and length, that give a coarseness to the . . . . . quality, and do not look like my touches or give work-like look to the good part over which they are put—The Marsh is all a swamp. I want flickering lights upon it up to the sea, and altho' I have darkened the sea in part yet you must not consider it to want strength, but that the whole *Marsh* and *Sea* down to the canal before the Barracks is too dark and not clear. Get it into one tone, flat, by dots or some means, and let the sea and water only appear different by their present lines. Yours truly. J. M. W. Turner.' 'Farnley Hall.'
India: Tweedmouth 38, inscribed: 'First. touched by Mr Turner. Novr. 29. 1824'. (This proof has been folded and sent through the Post. Address on reverse: 'G. Cooke Esq., 4 Loddiges Place, Hackney.'; Post-mark, 'No. 30. 1824.'

3. Same lettering, except that 'Etched' has been altered to 'Engraved'. The sentry, gun-carriage, foreground, and trees on right, have been strengthened; the difference been sea and marsh has been obliterated, and the markings on cliff made less obtrusive. The sky has been lightened gradually towards the position of the sun behind the taller tree.
India: Tweedmouth 40, inscribed: '5' and 'S. Hawkins Decr. 9. 1824.'

3 (a). Touched impression of same state. Touched on sea to right and left of church, on shadows of trees behind Barracks, on the second baggage waggon and soldiers marching behind it, on shadow of wall in front of drill ground, on dark spaces above and to right of cannon, and on trees; outlines drawn on foliage in left corner. The shadows on cliffs to left of church are said to be 'too dark.' In the margin is written: 'Dear Sir, The inclined lines in the water' (above the houses to right of church) 'do pray do all you can to remove. I fear you mistook my meaning. Let the water be distinguishable only by its lines. Therefore strengthen all the Horizontal lines of the *Sea* which you have to do for I would prefer overtone to the' (crossed) 'lines' (which Cooke had added over parts of sea and marsh). 'In the marsh I do not want more work but filling in to make it flat, and a flickering Light—somewhat like the Brixham plate. The Trees behind the Barracks where marked thus' (sketches of trees with oblique shadows on their left). I shall not want to see another proof but save me my number 4 and etching. J. M. W. T.'
India: Tweedmouth 39, inscribed: '2nd touched proof. Mr Turner. Decr. 1824.'

4. Same lettering. Touched.
The sea is altered and the marsh lightened; the glimpse of sea to left of church has been brought up to the tone of the sea on the right; the light and shade on trees behind barracks is emphasized; a shadow is added to the wall in front of

drill-ground; the foliage to left of baggage train is sharply detached from the ground beyond; the foliage and tree-trunks on right are darkened.
Touched in pencil for further alterations on distant sea and marsh on right, for darkening some light patches above cannon, for altering direction of cast shadows of nearer trees behind barracks, and for reducing the size of the front leg of the soldier in the left corner. Two outlines of foliage drawn in margin.
Tweedmouth 41, inscribed: 'Third touched proof. Mr Turner. Decr. 1824.'

5. Same lettering, but title was not inked. The cast shadows of trees on left altered; sea and marsh rather darker and flatter; the soldier's leg reduced in front; three ships added on horizon; all sky is lightened, and the light clouds just above the horizon are blank white spaces. *India:* S. L. Courtauld.

6. Same lettering. Sea and marsh lighter; sky strengthened, and white spaces made slightly darker than the sky beyond; cross-hatching added on clouds in upper left.
India: S. L. Courtauld, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 42, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Artists' names still in Italic; title engraved in two lines of open capitals: 'HYTHE, KENT.'; with publication line in Italic: 'London, Published by John & Arthur Arch, Cornhill, December 30th, 1824.' *India* & *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered: 'Hythe.' (in open capitals), artists' names and Virtue's publication line in slender Roman capitals. Plate still more worn; sky retouched.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM MILLER

A LIME-KILN on the beach in the centre near foreground, with women washing and drying clothes upon it; the sea on its right, with steep high cliffs on the left. A man shovelling sea-weed, with a boat and donkeys on either side, is in the immediate foreground; houses and figures on a small quay beyond on the right.
Miller was paid £47 5s. for the engraving.
The water-colour once belonged to Mr Ruskin, who presented it to the University Galleries, Oxford.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by 12: Engraved surface, $5\frac{15}{16}$ by $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Without any lettering. British Museum.

2. Artists' names in Italic, no title: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by Willm,, Miller.' *India:* British Musem, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. Parts of plate still in the etched state; all the dark parts are engraved—foreground shadows, the bending woman in centre, tops of masts, and the sea is darkened. *India:* British Museum.

2. Same lettering. All the plate is engraved. The darks in foreground are strengthened. There is no boat in the bay, only one figure on the quay on the right. *India:* A. Wallis.

2(a). Touched impression of the same state. A boat in bay with white sail is added by scraping out, two masts are added in pencil beyond the quay on the right, and the figure of a woman beside the man carrying pails on the quay is added by scraping out; additions are made to the houses on her right, and there are touches all over the foreground, and boats, figures and houses on the left. In right margin, a sketch for masts above man carrying pail; and below, rough pencil sketch of boat which is scraped in bay. In lower margin: 'Mr T. requests Mr Miller to send him an *etching* and 2 proofs India and two proofs plain paper.' *India:* Boston, Mass.

3. Same lettering. The boat in bay, the woman beside the man on the quay, two masts above them, and many additions and alterations marked in the previous proof, are now engraved. *India:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

4. 'Etched' is now altered to 'Engraved', and title: 'Coombe Martin, Devonshire,' is added on the right in large Italic. Additional work on sky, cliffs, boat

and sea; masts and rigging on right more sharply defined, blocks added to ropes, shadows on figures and wall darkened; darks strengthened in foreground and on the left.
India: British Museum, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 220, and A. Wallis.

5. Same lettering. Additional lines of shadow on left of foreground boat.
India: S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Artists' names as in the Engraver's Proofs; Title and publication line engraved: COMB MARTIN. London, Published by John & Arthur Arch, Cornhill, January 1st. 1825. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn, but not so badly as most of the others.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with Virtue's publication line. The worn out sky has been touched up.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM MILLER

THE mouth of the harbour is in the middle-distance in the centre, the town on the right. There are rowing-boats, a large buoy, ships and sailing boats on the choppy sea in front, and men-of-war inside the harbour, with scudding clouds above. A brisk, breezy subject, full of movement.
Miller was paid £52 10s. for this engraving.
The water-colour was exhibited at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857, and was afterwards in the Stevenson and Huth collections. It was exhibited in Agnew's gallery in 1903.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $11\frac{15}{16}$: Engraved surface, $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

ETCHING

1. Italic lettering, with title on left: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Etched by Willm,, Miller 1825'; 'Portsmouth Hampshire.'
India: British Museum, Boston, Mass., G. B. Smith.

1 (a). Touched impression, from Miller's portfolio, with several pencil sketches in margin correcting the forms of the church on the right, the high 'Store' nearer the centre, and the fortifications near the centre—'Mark to Enter the Harbour.' S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering. The whole plate is engraved; forms of church, store-building, and fortification in centre are altered in accordance with the pencil sketches on the above etching. A large white space in centre of sky has been left, and the buoy is not yet darkened. *India:* Tweedmouth 76, G. B. Smith, A. A. Allen. (A delightful suggestion of the original water-colour without any of the defects of photographic reproductions; light, silvery, and full of movement.)
Rawlinson mentions 'a series' of proofs, once in the J. E. Taylor collection, which I have not been able to trace. One of them, which was touched, would appear to be earlier than our next proof. Turner's marginal notes on this are given by Mr Rawlinson as follows: 'Mr Miller, you will perceive I have taken a great deal of pains about the water and I must thank (you) to watch the touches closely and send me an impression first in its present state that I may see the differences I have made. With the next *two* send touched proof for I cannot recollect all I have done, or mark your following my touches without assistance. You will I trust excuse my remarking that the water particularly in front is of too equal a tone throughout and the more you can fill up and cover the white paper parts (excepting a few I have left) the more you will remove the etching-like appear-

ance it now has. Its *good work* requiring more support by richness and full tone.' At the side, is a sketch of the buoy with the words: 'The Buoy—clear cross lines will help the water greatly' ('Engd. Work of J. M. W. Turner,' vol 1, p. 64).

2. Same lettering. Clouds engraved in centre of sky; thick horizontal and vertical lines added crossing face of buoy; darks strengthened on parts of sea, ships, and boats. *India:* Tweedmouth 77, inscribed '5th'.

2 (a). Touched impression of same state. Touched in pencil on rigging of ships on left; a cross is drawn over waves in lower left corner, and three small circles over light clouds in centre of sky. In margin: 'There is too much paper in (crossed) quarter of the water, and (three small circles) in the sky rather too dark. A little more running rigging to the vessel but not strong—very tender dry-point.' (A pencil sketch of buoy). 'The Buoy lined(?) too regular and openly squared, that it looks like Iron grating. Either fill in the squares (as per Margin) or if you like best to etch it again dont make the Horizontal inclined lines so strong as the vertical inclined lines.' *India:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson. (This proof has been folded and sent through the Post. Address on reverse: 'Wm. Miller, Engraver, Drummond Street, Edinburgh.' Post-marks, 'Jan 19, 1826' and 'Jan 21, 1826'.—This shows that the plate could not have been published on the 15th of February, 1825, the date in the publication line).

3. Same lettering. The lines in centre of sky are subdued, lines are added between the thick vertical ones on face of buoy, and the top and side are darkened; rigging added on boat above buoy and on the two ships at its side; the waves in left lower corner are darkened, and all the darks strengthened.
India: Tweedmouth 78, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. The Artists' names remain as in the Engraver's Proofs except that 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. Title, in two lines, and publication line in Italic, are engraved: PORTSMOUTH, HAMPSHIRE.; London, Published by J. & A. Arch, Cornhill, February 15th, 1825.

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Lettering re-engraved.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY EDWARD GOODALL

WITHIN the harbour looking towards the sea, with steep cliffs on both sides, part of a small pier in the foreground on the right, and an old stone quay on the left with a round tower high up on the cliffs above it. A brig in the centre is being hauled in by men on either side of the cliffs.
A very fine design, admirably engraved.
The water-colour once belonged to Mr Ruskin, who presented it to the University Galleries, Oxford.
Plate-mark, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $12\frac{1}{8}$: Engraved surface, $5\frac{7}{8}$ by $9\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING
No lettering. *India:* G. B. Smith.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
1. No lettering. Before light clouds above cliff on right, and before lights and darks were strengthened. (Very lovely and suggestive, but with less force and individuality than the finished state.)
Plain: G. B. Smith ex Theobald, and C. M. W. Turner.

1 (a). Touched impression of same state. The ship, sea in centre and cliffs on either side are darkened with pencil; also front part of pier on right.
India: S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

2. Italic lettering, no title: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R,A.'; 'Engraved by Edwd. Goodall.' The ship, sea, cliffs and end of pier are darkened. Also further alterations, for which there is probably a missing touched proof: light clouds added above cliffs on right, and additional modelling on the cliffs themselves; the darks on the boat on the left are strengthened, with additional work on the stone quay and the ground above. *India:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

3. Same lettering. Fine vertical lines strengthened in sky above blockhouse near centre.
India: S. L. Courtauld, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 216, A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE
FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: BOSCASTLE, CORNWALL. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Edward Goodall.. London; Published by J & A Arch, Cornhill, March 10th, 1825. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS. As before.

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

VIEW from the sea, looking through the Old Steine to the Royal Pavilion in the centre; the town and beach extend on both sides, with the Chain Pier (which had been completed only a year or two before the drawing was made) foreshortened on the right, and Brighton Church on the sky-line above the distant town on the left.
The water-colour was once in the collection of John Morley, of Clapton, and was sold at Christie's in 1896.
Plate-mark, 9½ by 12¼: Engraved surface, 6 1/16 by 9 1/16 inches.

ETCHING
Italic lettering, with title towards centre: 'Drawn by J, M. W, Turner. R.A.'; 'Etched by George Cooke. 1825'; 'Brighton'.
India: Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 63; *Plain:* Tweedmouth 62, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis, H. A. Mummery.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
1. Same lettering. Houses and sea in middle-distance engraved, the remainder of plate in the etched state.
India: British Museum, inscribed: 'First Proof after the etching. June 1825'.

2. Same lettering. All the plate is engraved. *India:* Tweedmouth 64, inscribed: 'Second Proof from Etching June 24, 1825.'

3. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. No alterations in the engraving. Touched in pencil on sky, darkening clouds on each side of rainbow, defining shapes of clouds in centre; also on houses in centre, on figures and shore in middle-distance on the left, on the waves, buoy, and hull of nearer boat; a bow-sprit is scraped out on this boat, and lights are scraped on upper clouds above masts on the right. *India:* Tweedmouth 65, inscribed: '1st touches Mr Turner'.

4. Same lettering. The touches on previous proof are now engraved. The plate gains in vigour. *India:* Tweedmouth 66, inscribed: '4th state.'

4 (a). Touched proof of same state. Waves on left darkened with pencil, lights scraped on buoy and on wave in centre of foreground; two chains added connecting buoy with pier, the light on bow-sprit enlarged by scraping, and pencil-touches added on right side of pier. In margin a pencil sketch showing construction of buoy and the way in which it is chained to the pier and to a second buoy.
Written in lower margin: 'Dear Sir, When you have done with these Proofs

you will oblige me much in sending them with the other impressions. J. M. W. Turner.' *India:* Tweedmouth 67, inscribed: '2nd touches.'

5. Same lettering. Touched. The touches on the previous proof are engraved. Touched on pier and waves on right, and further lights scraped on buoy and on houses on extreme right. Written on lower margin: 'light touches in water.' *Plain:* Tweedmouth 68, inscribed: '3rd touches. J. M. W. T.'

6. Same lettering. Lights added on houses on right, the pier and water on right are lightened, lights added on buoy and those on waves extended. *India:* G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., A. Wallis.

7. Previous lettering removed: 'Engraved by George Cooke from a Drawing by J. M. W. Turner R.A.' in scratched Italic, is now placed immediately below the lower border-line in the centre; the title, 'Brighton' is re-etched $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches from the left border-line. The top and side of buoy are darkened, and the second strut on its left side is covered with cross-hatching.
S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson, A. Wallis, and H. A. Mummery. (Rawlinson regarded his proof as 'apparently unique', but two other proofs have since been discovered. Impressions of this state are, however, rarer than those of the 6th state).

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: BRIGHTHELMSTON, SUSSEX. Drawn by J.M.W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by George Cooke 1825. London, Published by J & A. Arch, Cornhill, September 1st, 1825. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate much worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with one line of title and Virtue's publication line. Plate still more worn; the decrepit sky has been touched up.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY ROBERT WALLIS

LOOKING along the coast from the west of Folkestone towards Dover. Shakespeare's Cliff appears in the extreme distance on the right. A flock of sheep is feeding on the cliffs in the foreground on the left (now the Lees, Folkestone); beyond, near the centre, a church is prominent. The town and harbour are below it. In the immediate foreground smugglers are burying kegs of gin or brandy.

The water-colour which was once in the Humphry Roberts collection was exhibited at Agnew's Gallery in 1905.

Plate-mark 9½ by 12 : Engraved surface, 6 by 9⅝ inches.

ETCHING

'Etched by Robt. Wallis. 1825.' in Roman capitals on the right; no other lettering. *Plain:* British Museum, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved', with 'drawn by I. M. W. Turner. R.A.', added on the left, also in Roman capitals. Before the single figure on the sands near the bottom right-hand corner, before the three distant sails on the right, etc. *India:* Tweedmouth 32.

2. Same lettering. Three sails added in distance, also a number of boats within harbour, several figures below them on the sands, and a single figure near the right lower corner; the sky is lightened, and lines of light on waves near centre, above harbour, are altered; the waves on the right are also altered, lights added on cliffs in centre, on houses and cliffs in middle-distance, and on sands below on right. *India*: A. Wallis.

3. Same lettering, but the date after engraver's name is altered to '1826'. The sails on boat at entrance of harbour are altered, and the sails on two boats beyond on the right are toned down; flickering high lights added on clouds to left of church, and above it; the flag on the church is enlarged and the high lights on the sands toned down. *India:* British Museum, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., A. Wallis.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: FOLKESTONE, KENT. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Robt. Wallis 1825. London, Published by J & A Arch, Cornhill, February 24th, 1826. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS. As before.

ENGRAVED BY W. RADCLYFFE

THE town extends from left to right along the sloping beach. Heavy sullen waves fill the front of the design, and the spars of vessel wrecked on the Godwin Sands appear in the distance on the extreme right. Boats are being pulled up high on the beach; two flags on a high mast in the centre stand out light against the stormy sky, and a streak of ribbon lightning streams across the sky from the right.

The design of the waves and lines of surf is superb.

The water-colour was exhibited at the Guildhall in 1899, lent by Mr Horatio Micholls.

Plate-mark, $9\frac{3}{16}$ by $12\frac{1}{8}$: Engraved surface, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

No lettering. *India:* British Museum.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Italic lettering, no title: 'Drawn by F. M. W. Turner R.A.'; 'Engraved by W. Radclyffe 1826.'

India: C.M.W. Turner, G.B. Smith, A. Wallis; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 15, S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Same lettering for Artists' names, but title and publication line engraved: DEAL, KENT. London, Published by J. & A. Arch, Cornhill, 1st April 1826. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered with one line of title, etc. Plate still more worn; the worn-out sky touched up.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

ENGRAVED BY EDWARD GOODALL

MOUNT Edgcumbe in the distance, the tossing sea in front with several sailing boats, and a man-of-war on the right.
The drawing was finished and delivered to Cooke in August, 1818. There is no further record of its provenance.
Plate-mark, 9 by 12: Engraved surface, $6\frac{3}{8}$ by $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

ETCHING

No lettering. *Plain:* G. B. Smith.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. No lettering. Before white sails in extreme distance on the left.
India: Boston, Mass., once in Mr J. E. Taylor's collection.

2. Artists' names in Italic, no title: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. RA.'; 'Engraved by E. Goodall.' White sails added in distance on left.
India: British Museum, G. B. Smith, A. Wallis ex J. Pye; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 175, S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: MOUNT EDGECOMB, DEVON-SHIRE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R A. Engraved by E. Goodall. Published by J. & A. Arch, Cornhill. 12th April 1826.' *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with one line of title, etc. Plate still more worn; the worn-out sky has been repaired.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

from Shakespeare's Cliff

ENGRAVED BY GEORGE COOKE

FORTIFICATIONS in foreground, with sentry and hay-waggon on the left, looking down on barracks and houses on the Western Heights; a glimpse of sand below with boats and a line of surf in the right-hand corner; across the bay rises the Castle, with cliffs stretching away to the right.
The water-colour has been in the Shaw and Nettlefold collections.
Plate-mark, 9⅜ by 12⅜: Engraved surface, 6⅜ by 9½ inches.

ETCHING

1. No lettering. Castle, middle-distance and part of foreground blank.
Plain: Tweedmouth 24, G. B. Smith.

2. Italic lettering, with title near centre: 'Drawn by J, M, W, Turner. RA.'; 'Etched by George Cooke'; 'Dover'. Blank spaces now etched.
India: Boston Mass.; *Plain:* British Museum, G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, H. A. Mummery, A. Wallis.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

1. Same lettering, but 'Etched' is altered to 'Engraved'. All the plate engraved; no clouds in sky. *India:* Tweedmouth 25; *Plain:* A. Wallis.

1 (a). Touched impression of same state. Extensively worked on by Turner with pencil and knife; light clouds scraped on sky, sea darkened, etc. Turner has written in the margin: 'The Sky is so unequal and in Streaks that I must propose Clouds by way of Relief from the heavy Tone the said lines give it. The whole of the Castle Hill is too dark—keep therefore the lights bright and Clear.' (Rawlinson reads 'Specks' for 'Streaks', and 'The whole of the Castle Hill is too Dark a space . Keep *thin.*') Further instructions ask for 'more gradation' in the hills on the left, and explain that the dark space above the houses in middle-distance is meant for a 'Ray not hill'; the steep cliff near centre is 'too strong,' the rampart near wooden bridge in foreground is 'Wall—Bricks', and the indeterminate forms in centre of foreground are 'Earth built up the remains of Bastion.'
India: G. B. Smith, ex Theobald.

2. Same lettering. Light clouds are now engraved, and all the other touches in the previous proof. The change wrought by Turner's revision is marvellous.
India: Tweedmouth 27; *Plain:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson.

2 (a). Touched proof of same state. Further lights are scraped in sky and on Castle hill above the houses; pencil touches on distant sea, on Castle and cliffs,

on buildings on shore on extreme right, on figures on beach, on waves, on figures in the firing-party, on foreground sentry, and on the bastion on his right. Written in margin: 'The Sky is much better—convert (Rawlinson reads 'correct') 'the remaining streaks into clouds like the proof, and there will be no need of sending again. J. M. W. T.'
India: Tweedmouth 26, inscribed: 'touched April 29. 1826' and 'No 2. Mr T. kept No 1.' (evidently referring to the touched proof above).

3. Same lettering. Light clouds in sky enlarged, with additional light streaks chiefly on the left; the distant sea is darkened, and the small houses near the sea in centre, at foot of cliffs, are more clearly defined; the gloss on hat of sentry and lights on houses below castle on extreme left are subdued; the parapet and sides of bastion in foreground are darkened; the nearest boat on the beach on the right is more clearly defined, and the boat with figures above it is strengthened; the houses on extreme right in middle-distance are more defined, and a flag-staff is added just to the left of the white sail on the extreme right.
India: G. B. Smith, S. L. Courtauld, A. Wallis; *Plain:* British Museum, Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 28.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: DOVER from SHAKESPEARE'S CLIFF. Drawn by J, M, W, Turner. RA. Engraved by George Cooke London, Published by J & A. Arch, Cornhill, 6, May 1826. *India* and *Plain.*

TRIAL PROOFS FOR REPRINT

1. Same lettering. All the lower part of the sky and part of the cliffs on the right have been re-engraved. Plate is worn and flat.
Plain: Tweedmouth 29, inscribed: 'Reprint. This is the first Proof taken off by S. Hawkins with his large Press.'

2. Another impression in same state, with artists' names only, on *India*, relaid: G. B. Smith.

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Plate not included.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed. Repairs on sky, castle, castle hill and cliffs.

An engraved copy of this plate was made by W. Chapman. Plate-mark, $10\frac{3}{8}$ by $13\frac{1}{16}$: Engraved surface, $6\frac{7}{16}$ by $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches. Italic lettering on right: 'W. C. April. 1860.' An impression on *India:* S. L. Courtauld ex W. G. Rawlinson. (Chapman engraved several plates for Messrs Virtue & Co. So far as I know this plate was not published.)

ENGRAVED BY J. HORSBURGH

A WIDE stretch of sands at low tide in front, with road over slight hill on right leading to the town in the middle-distance; the sea with many sailing vessels on the left; the sands are dotted with a number of small figures; a horse and cart with men are in the foreground, and a notice-board with 'Whitstable Oyster Beds' on it.
Plate-mark, $8\frac{13}{16}$ by $11\frac{7}{8}$: Engraved surface, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

ETCHING

No lettering. *India:* British Museum, Tweedmouth 1, G. B. Smith.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Italic lettering, with title in centre in two lines: 'Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.'; 'Engraved by J. Horsburgh'; 'Whitstable' (upright capitals) 'Kent' (sloping capitals).
India: British Museum, Tweedmouth 3, G. Bellingham Smith, A. A. Allen; *Plain:* Boston, Mass., Tweedmouth 2, S. L. Courtauld.

PUBLISHED STATE

FIRST STATE. Engraved lettering: WHITSTABLE, KENT. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by J. Horsburgh. London, Published by John & Arthur Arch 8 May 1826. *India* and *Plain.*

REPRINTS

NATTALI REPRINT. Publication line removed. Plate worn.

TURNER GALLERY REPRINT. Re-lettered, with one line of title, etc. Plate more worn.

HUISH REPRINT. All lettering removed.

APPENDIX A

The following letter, now in the possession of Mr Charles Mallord William Turner, was addressed to: 'J. M. W. Turner Esq. Queen Ann St West':—

June 3. 1819

My dear Sir,

Will you have the goodness to touch on Allen's Proof of Ivy Bridge and tell the bearer when he shall call again for it. I wish (as well as Allen) the Ivy Bridge *done,* particularly as it is so near it—do not the Ducks want to come out more conspicuously by light and dark touches?

I met Mr Fuller the other morning and he expressed himself surprised at not seeing the Sussex advertised in the Quarterly Review. You see how these things operate—every one who knows Murray to be my publisher must attribute it to neglectful conduct or to Hostility—the more I think of it (for I am determined to think coolly of it) the more I am convinced of its being one of the most unjust things ever done by a Publisher—a Publisher by tying you first to himself by stipulating that none of the T*rade* shall be supplied but through his hands, under a Promise that he will do everything for the Work and also promises to introduce it in all his lists on acct. of his extra commission of 10 per Cent and then to behave in this manner is acting either the part of a madman or with a downright deviation from all Principles of honesty or justice—no failure of Promises (which are in themselves physically impossible to perform, and which are dictated by an enthusiasm or too great confidence in ones own powers as to time) on my part can be any excuse for such malignity and littleness. I am not sure whether by Action by Law I could not recover for the probable loss sustained by me on this acct. at this season of the year. Can I hereafter confide in a man like this who has struck a blow without a threat? who has made a cut at my property without declaring war? You say *'dont be hasty, but think well before you act.'* In my opinion it beats Longman's conduct though that was as bad as it could be.

I am slaving away at Allason's Plates which I shall be very happy to have done with when they are finished something must be done with Murray

I remain Dear Sir

Yours respectfully,

W. B. Cooke.

The 'Sussex' which Mr Fuller did not see advertised in the 'Quarterly Review' was a publication entitled 'Views in Sussex', containing engravings of water-colour drawings which Turner had painted for Mr J. Fuller, of Rose Hill, Sussex. The work was being produced at Mr Fuller's expense. Some of the drawings had been made in 1815, and the etched state of the engravings is

lettered 'Etched by W. B. Cooke, 1816.' The date of publication on the plates is, however, March 1, 1819. Yet although the plates had been so long in Cooke's hands it is evident that the work was not ready when this letter was written. Mr Rawlinson says he had seen a prospectus of this work which Cooke issued in 1820; so the first part—which is all that was produced—was probably not ready for publication until at least a year after the date on the plates. In all the copies of this part which I have seen John Murray's name and address as publisher have been crossed through by hand on the covers, though his name remains on the title-page and on the plates. Evidently he refused to act as publisher after Cooke had failed to produce the work by the time agreed upon; and Cooke, instead of admitting that the delay was caused by himself, tried to shift the blame on to Murray.

Cooke was what is called an 'enterprising' man. He was always ready to undertake new work even when he had more in hand than he could possibly cope with, and to make promises without considering whether he could keep them. No doubt he worked hard—probably he overworked himself, and the hard work, and the worry caused by his constant failure to keep his engagements, seem to have made him extremely unreasonable. And he was constitutionally incapable of considering any other point of view or any other person's interests but his own.

This letter—which has never before been published—shows plainly how excitable, vituperative, and one-sided Cooke's utterances could be. Yet another letter—published by Thornbury—which Cooke wrote to Turner soon after the completion of the 'Southern Coast,' when he was inflamed by Turner's refusal to continue to work with him, and which is filled with similar vituperation, this time against Turner, has been treated by nearly all writers on the subject with an amount of deference which I confess astonishes me. Armstrong even speaks of it as "one of the most important pieces of evidence we have as to Turner's character," and while admitting that it is an *ex parte* statement he says that "its clumsy periods suggest no sort of doubt as to its writer's wish to be fair, or as to the painter's actual conduct" (*Turner*, p. 100).

The following is Thornbury's version of this letter ('The Life', new edition pp. 186-188):—

January 1, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I cannot help regretting that you persist in demanding twenty-five sets of India proofs before the letters of the continuation of the work of the 'Coast', besides being paid for the drawings. It is like a film before your eyes, to prevent your obtaining upwards of two thousand pounds in a commission for drawings for that work.

Upon mature reflection, you must see I have done all in my power to satisfy you of the total impossibility of acquiescing in such a demand. It would be unjust both to my subscribers and to myself.

The 'Coast' being my own original plan, which cost me some anxiety before I could bring it to maturity, and an immense expense before I applied to you, when I gave a commission for drawings to upwards of £400 *at my own entire risk,* in which the shareholders were not willing to take any part, I did all I could to persuade you to have one share; and which I did from a firm conviction that it would afford some remuneration for your exertions on the drawings in addition to the amount of the contract. The share was, as it were, forced upon you by myself, with the best feeling in the world; and was, as you well know, repeatedly refused, under the idea that there was a possibility of losing money by it. You cannot deny the result: a constant dividend of profit has been made to you at various times, and will be so for some time to come.

On Saturday last, to my utter astonishment, you declared in my print-rooms, before three persons who distinctly heard it, as follows:—"I will have my terms! or I will oppose the work by doing another 'Coast!' " These were the words you used; and everyone must allow them to be a *threat.*

And this morning (Monday) you show me a note of my own handwriting, with these words (or words to this immediate effect):—

"The drawings for the future 'Coast' shall be paid twelve guineas and a half each."

Now in the name of common honesty, how can you apply the above note to any drawings for the first division of the work, called the 'Southern Coast,' and tell me I owe you two guineas on each of those drawings? Did you not agree to make the whole of the 'South Coast' drawings for £7 10s. each? and did I not continue to pay you that sum for the first four numbers? When a meeting of the partners took place, to take into consideration the great exertions that myself and my brother had made on the plates, to testify their entire satisfaction, and considering the difficulties I had placed myself in by such an agreement as I had made (dictated by my enthusiasm for the welfare of a work which had been planned and excuted with so much zeal, and of my being paid the small sum only of twenty-five guineas for each plate, including the loan of the drawings, for which I received no return or consideration whatever on the part of the shareholders), they unanimously (excepting on your part) and very liberally increased the price of each plate to £40; and I agreed, on my part, to pay you ten guineas for each drawing after the fourth number. And have I not kept this agreement? Yes; you have received from me, and from Messrs Arch on my account, the whole sum so agreed upon, and for which you have given me and them receipts. The work has now been finished upwards of six months, when you show me a note of my own handwriting, and which was written to you in reply to a part of your letter, where you say, "Do you imagine I shall go to John o'Groat's House for the same sum I receive for the Southern part?" Is this *fair* conduct between man and man, to apply the note (so explicit in itself) to the former work, and to endeavour to make me believe I still owe

you two guineas and a half on each drawing? Why, let me ask you, should I promise you such a sum? What possible motive could I have in heaping gold into your pockets when you have always taken such especial care of your interests, even in the case of 'Neptune's Trident,' which I can declare you *presented* to me; and in the spirit of *this* understanding I presented it again to Mrs Cooke. You may recollect afterwards charging me two guineas for the loan of it, and requesting me, at the same time, to return it to you; which has been done.

The ungracious remarks I experienced this morning at your house, when I pointed out to you the meaning of my former note—'that it referred to the future part of the work, and not to the "Southern Coast" '—were such as to convince me that you maintain a mistaken and most unaccountable idea of profit and advantage in the new work of the 'Coast'; and that no estimate or calculation will convince you to the contrary. Ask yourself if Hakewill's 'Italy,' 'Scottish Scenery,' or 'Yorkshire' work have either of them succeeded in the return of the capital laid out on them.

These works have had in them as much of your individual talent as the 'Southern Coast,' being modelled on the principle of it; and although they have answered your purpose by the commissions for drawings, yet there is considerable doubt remaining whether they will ever return their expenses, and whether the shareholders and proprietors will ever be reinstated in the money laid out on them. So much for the profit of works.

I assure you I must turn over an entirely new leaf to make them ever return their expenses.

To conclude, I regret exceedingly the time I have bestowed in endeavouring to convince you in a calm and patient manner of a number of calculations made for *your* satisfaction; and I have met in return such hostile treatment that I am positively disgusted at the mere thought of the trouble I have given myself on such a useless occasion.

I remain, your obedient Servant,
W. B. Cooke.

To appreciate the value of this letter as 'evidence of Turner's character,' it is necessary to know something of the conditions in which it was written. The following announcement had appeared on the covers of each of the sixteen parts of the 'Southern Coast' (1814-1826); 'The subscribers to this work are respectfully informed, that after the completion of the *Southern Coast,* it is intended to proceed with the whole *Circuit* of *England,* including that of *Wales,* agreeable to the original Prospectus. It will be divided into separate Divisions, forming in themselves complete Works similar to the present one.' When this letter was written, in 1827, the 'Southern Coast' had been brought to completion, in spite of Cooke's mismanagement, and it had been a triumphant success mainly on account of Turner's share in the work. Cooke was anxious to proceed with

another division of the 'Coast,' but without Turner's help he knew it must be a failure, and Turner was not at all anxious to go on working with Cooke.

This is the crux of the situation. Cooke's future prosperity as a publisher seemed to be dependent upon Turner's assistance, and Turner was obstinately proposing terms to which Cooke could not agree. The situation was tragic—from Cooke's point of view. He felt that all his chances of prosperity were slipping away from him, so he poured out his disappointment, grief, and anger in this long and incoherent cry from the heart.

He feels himself quite helpless. What can he do? There is no law of man or God to compel an artist to work for a publisher if he does not wish to do so, and if there is no agreement to compel him. Nevertheless the pertinacious Cooke makes one final effort, to persuade Turner that he sets too high a value on his work; that he is blind to his own interests in severing his connexion with such a liberal patron as Mr Cooke; and that he (Cooke) was at the moment actuated as he had always been in the past, more by concern for Turner's interests than for his own!

At the same time Cooke is very angry. He evidently felt that Turner's conduct beat Murray's and Longman's, though theirs was 'as bad as it could be.' And with all this rage in his heart and eager desire to wound Turner's feelings, what can he find to taunt him with after more than sixteen years of close intercourse? Two trumpery misunderstandings, one about a little vignette of 'Neptune's Trident,' the other about the price Cooke had promised to pay for some future drawings.

Cooke's account of the latter affair is meagre and confused; it is not surprising, therefore, that Hamerton and nearly all subsequent writers on the subject have misunderstood it. The letter in which Cooke offered to pay twelve and a half guineas each for "the drawings for the future 'Coast' "must have been written at a time when the 'Southern Coast' was approaching completion, and when Cooke was trying to get Turner to make a fresh agreement for the continuation of the work; somewhere in 1825 or 1826 I should say. But when Turner produced the letter on New Year's day, 1827, all the drawings for the 'Southern Coast' had been delivered, engraved, and published, and paid for. Turner could not therefore have made a claim for further payment, though he may have amused himself by drawing attention to the liability to which Cooke had committed himself by the ambiguity of his expressions. Cooke's words even by his own account are ambiguous. But we hear no more about the affair, as we certainly should if Turner had really thought that Cooke had paid him less than he had promised. And Hamerton is clearly wrong in saying (*Life*, p. 212) that Turner had made an agreement with Cooke to supply drawings for a continuation of the 'Southern Coast'. That was exactly Cooke's grievance; Turner would not make such an agreement.

Cooke's letter contains some statements which are evidently inaccurate,

He says that at the beginning of the enterprise he gave Turner a commission for drawings to upwards of £400. Yet the first commission was for twenty-four drawings, at £7 10s. each, which represented £180. It was only after the success of the publication had been found to be dependent upon Turner's contributions that the price was raised to £10 10s. for each drawing, and their number was increased.

Cooke's assertion that publications like the 'Richmondshire' series had not succeeded, though they 'have had in them as much of your individual talent as the 'Southern Coast,' being modelled on the principle of it,' is also inaccurate. Dr Whitaker's 'History of Richmondshire' was not like the 'Southern Coast.' It was a ponderous volume of antiquarian research into which Turner's drawings were only introduced as an afterthought to give the undertaking an element of popularity. Dr Whitaker intended the work to be his *magnum opus,* and we are told that 'the publishers, Messrs Longman, spared neither pains nor expense in producing it in the most sumptuous form, the total cost having been not far short of ten thousand pounds' (Rawlinson, I, p. xxxvii). The outlay on Turner's drawings was only five hundred guineas, and the publishers sold the drawings soon after they were engraved for about the sum they had paid for them. So that even if the publication was not a financial success (and we have only Cooke's word for it) it cannot have been Turner's fault.

It seems almost incredible but it is nevertheless true, that this letter of Cooke's has done Turner's reputation more harm than any other document. It is the *pièce justificatif* upon which Turner's biographers have relied to substantiate their charges of his dishonesty, meanness and avarice. Yet when we read it in conjunction with Cooke's earlier letter, we see that it is evidence which should be regarded with the utmost suspicion; and the more we know of Cooke's character and the circumstances in which the letter was written, the more difficult does it become to resist the conclusion that the charges brought against Turner have not been substantiated.

Postscript. Since the above was written my attention has been called to a document signed by Cooke which proves that he sold Turner's water-colour of 'Whitstable' on the 5th of August, 1826, for the sum of £17 17s. This was one of the drawings for which Turner had been paid £10 10s. Having had the use of the drawing for his publication, Cooke was able to dispose of it immediately at a profit of 70 per cent. Then a few months later he wrote the letter printed above, in which he endeavoured to persuade Turner that he had 'a mistaken and most unaccountable idea' of the value of his own work. Cooke was well within his rights in making as much profit as possible out of the sale of Turner's drawings, but there is something disingenuous in his efforts to pose as Turner's unselfish and generous benefactor.

APPENDIX B

List of Plates in the Parts as issued

(The dates are those engraved in the publication-lines of the plates.)

PART I			
St. Michael's Mount	1 Jan. 1814	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Poole	1 Jan. 1814	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Southampton	1 Jan. 1814	W. Westall	W. B. Cooke
Hythe	....	L. Clennell	....
Eddystone Lighthouse	1 Jan. 1814	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke
PART II			
Land's End	1 March 1814	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Dover	1 March 1814	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke
Weymouth	1 March 1814	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Land's End, (Vignette)	1 March 1814	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke
St. Mary's Church Dover	1 March 1814	L. Clennell	George Cooke
PART III			
Brighton	1 June 1814	H. Edridge	George Cooke
Undercliff, I. of W.	1 June 1814	P. de Wint	W. B. Cooke
Lulworth Cove	1 June 1814	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Brighton Church	1 June 1814	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke
Folkestone	1 June 1814	L. Clennell	W. B. Cooke
PART IV			
Corfe Castle	1 Nov. 1814	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Lyme Regis	1 Nov. 1814	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Carisbrook Castle	1 Nov. 1814	W. Alexander	W. B. Cooke
Carisbrook (Vignette)	1 Oct. 1814	L. Clennell	W. B. Cooke
Worthing Point	1 Oct. 1814	L. Francia	George Cooke
PART V			
Hastings	1 March 1816	W. Havell	W. B. Cooke
Teignmouth	1 June 1815	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Dartmouth	1 June 1815	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Hastings (Vignette)	1 May 1815	L. Clennell	W. B. Cooke
Shoreham Church	1 May 1815	L. Clennell	W. B. Cooke

PART VI

Blackgang Chine	1 April 1816	P. de Wint	George Cooke
Falmouth Harbour	1 March 1816	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Mew Stone	1 Feb. 1816	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Reculver Church	1 Feb. 1816	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke
Saltwood Castle	1 Feb. 1816	L. Clennell	W. B. Cooke

PART VII

Netley Abbey	1 Oct. 1816	W. Westall	George Cooke
Plymouth Dock	1 Oct. 1816	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Bonchurch, I. of W.	1 July 1816	J. Cristall	W. B. Cooke
Beach at Ventnor	1 July 1816	P. de Wint	W. B. Cooke
Shakespeare's Cliff	1 June 1816	S. Owen	W. B. Cooke

PART VIII

Plymouth with Mt. Batten	1 May 1817	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Pendennis Castle	1 May 1817	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Bow & Arrow Castle	1 May 1817	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Martello Towers Bexhill	1 May 1817	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
St. Margaret's Ch. Dover	....	E. Blore	George Cooke

PART IX

E. & W. Looe	1 July 1818	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Ilfracombe	1 July 1818	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Tintagel Castle	1 July 1818	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
The Logan Stone	1 July 1818	P. de Wint	W. B. Cooke
Cowes Castle	1 July 1818	P. de Wint	George Cooke

PART X

Watchet	1 April 1820	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Bridport	1 April 1820	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Fowey Harbour	1 April 1820	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Dawlish	1 April 1820	L. Clennell	George Cooke
Bognor	1 June 1820	P. de Wint	W. B. Cooke

PART XI

Lulworth Castle	1 Jan. 1821	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Torbay	1 Jan. 1821	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Minehead	1 Jan. 1821	J. M. W. Turner	W. B. Cooke
Sidmouth	1 Feb. 1821	W. Collins	W. B. Cooke
Hall Sands	1 Feb. 1821	W. Collins	W. B. Cooke

PART XII

Margate	Feb. 1824	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Rye	March 1824	J. M. W. Turner	E. Goodall
Clovelly Bay	March 1824	J. M. W. Turner	W. Miller
Porlock	March 1824	W. Collins	W. B. Cooke
Lynmouth	March 1824	W. Collins	W. B. Cooke

PART XIII

Hythe	30 Dec. 1824	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Ramsgate	20 Dec. 1824	J. M. W. Turner	R. Wallis
St. Mawes	Sep. 1824	J. M. W. Turner	J. C. Allen
Walmer Castle	1 Dec. 1824	W. Collins	George Cooke
Salcombe	1 Dec. 1824	W. Collins	E. Finden

PART XIV

Brighton	1 Sep. 1825	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Boscastle	10 March 1825	J. M. W. Turner	E. Goodall
Comb-Martin	1 Jan. 1825	J. M. W. Turner	W. Miller
Hurst Castle	20 June 1825	S. Prout	W. B. Cooke
Dartmouth Castle	20 June 1825	S. Prout	W. B. Cooke

PART XV

Portsmouth	15 Feb. 1825	J. M. W. Turner	W. Miller
Folkestone	24 Feb. 1826	J. M. W. Turner	R. Wallis
Deal	1 April 1826	J. M. W. Turner	W. Radclyffe
Lewes Castle	....	J. Hakewill	Freebairn
Lulworth Cliffs	....	S. Prout	George Cooke

PART XVI

Dover	6 May 1826	J. M. W. Turner	George Cooke
Whitstable	8 May 1826	J. M. W. Turner	J. Horsburgh
Mt. Edgecombe	12 April 1826	J. M. W. Turner	E. Goodall
Weymouth Castle	....	S. Prout	George Cooke
Winchelsea Gate	....	J. Hakewill	Freebairn

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